SOCIOLOGY
— AND —
SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL
COMBINING THE JOURNAL OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY
AND BULLETIN OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

LEONARD T. HOBHOUSE, 1864-1929

Editorial Note

LEONARD T. HOBHOUSE stood out for a quarter of a century and more as a leading social philosopher of England. The announcement that he had passed away came as a shock to those who knew him and who had assumed that he had several more years of able thinking and living ahead of him. His name remains, and will stand, as a tower of strength in the field of philosophic sociology.

His was a fundamental interest in human culture, being one of the first to describe the evolution of ethical consciousness in man. He perceived three major social forces, acting as social bonds: the principle of kinship, the principle of authority, and the principle of citizenship. He contended that there is a close connection between the growth of law and justice, and the prevalent forms of social organization, with organized law originating in a sense of community responsibility.

Longest of all, Professor Hobhouse will be known for his emphasis on *harmony* as a social concept. He defined social progress as the development of the principle of union, cooperation, and *harmony* among human beings. Human contentions are conceivably due to the fact that most persons have no adequate understanding of the good that is in themselves. It is the work of social philosophy to inquire into the conditions of a universal realization of social harmony, and then to forward this understanding.

<div align="right">E. S. B.</div>

CHARLES HORTON COOLEY: SCHOLAR

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THE SIGNIFICANCE of Cooley, the sociologist, may best be perceived and told by someone not so keenly conscious of Cooley, the man, as are some of us who have lived and worked in almost daily association with him over a considerable period of years. It is the purpose of the present writer to mention and dwell briefly upon what seem to him to be some of the more outstanding characteristics of Professor Cooley, the scholar and man.

First of all, Professor Cooley knew himself as few men do. He knew his points of weakness and his points of strength. On the basis of this knowledge, he organized his life for unusually effective living. Through rigorous self discipline, he achieved well nigh complete mastery of himself, and in the realization of that mastery, he lived with assurance, one step at a time. His intimate associates were ever conscious that his life activities were carried on in accordance with a definitely formulated plan, of which he was the architect. They were conscious, also, however, that his mind was never closed to sources of new inspiration. While his thinking was stimulatingly fresh in its originality, no man was ever more ready to acknowledge a debt to the great thinkers of the past. Marcus Aurelius, Pascal, Thoreau, Emerson were among his most influential teachers, and near the close of his life there appeared (1927) in his *Life and the Student* a collection of thoughts about life in general, not unworthy of a place by the side of the essays of his revered masters.

As illustrative of his tendency to turn what might commonly be felt to be elements of weakness into sources of strength may be noted his attitude toward the partial deafness with which one would quite naturally say that he was "afflicted." To the writer, he once remarked in reply to some query regarding the inconvenience of not always being able to hear distinctly, "I am glad that I cannot hear everything that is being said." And, in the volume of essays above referred to, he says, "There is a comfortable degree of deafness which is not without benefit to a scholar. It brings exemption from small noises by day and night; an excuse for avoiding parties, meetings, lectures, and concerts; and, generally, the ability to ignore without offence utterances to which you do not care to listen."

Professor Cooley viewed life as much with the eye of the artist as with that of the scientist. He naturally inclined to see the social order of his time as a great drama in which all men and women are actors of significance to the extent that they play their parts well, thus adding to the interest of the spectacle. He objectified his own experience to an unusual degree, seeing himself on life's stage along with his fellow actors, and showing himself no favoritism in his account of the performance. He writes, "I like to express myself cleanly, and like others to do the same; I would have each individual stand out unique and perspicuous, like a character in a play. I am sickened by the blurred, trivial, hurrying images of ourselves that we cast on the mind of the time."

No actor cast in the rôle of scholar ever played his part on the stage of life with greater sincerity and singleness of purpose than did Professor Cooley. In the finest sort of way, he was of the intellectual aristocracy. In *Social Organization*, he remarks, "Only a very sane mind can carry distinction and fellowship without spilling either." While

his fellowship was not in the least of the back-slapping sort, it was very real and fine toward those who were prepared to live in his world. Toward all with whom he had any sort of contact, his attitude was ever one of courtesy, a genuine courtesy expressive of a real respect for the personality of others, in whatever form it might show itself, rather than of mere conformity to the rules of polite behavior. It was not his nature, however, to dissipate his energies in an attempt to live on terms of intimate friendship with a wide variety of personalities.

As a student of human society, he had no interest in much that passes for knowledge. Statistical tabulations derived through an external handling of social phenomena, he considered almost devoid of real significance. To him, true social knowledge was a matter of insight and understanding, which could be obtained only through the sympathetic contact of a sensitive nature with the mental stuff which is society. In his classes, he always made plain his belief that sociology could never be learned from books, his own, or any other. The only satisfactory approach, he taught, was through the painstaking interpretation of some phase of the student's own experience, aided by an understanding teacher.

His life was so completely integrated that it is utterly impossible to distinguish between Cooley, the scholar, and Cooley, the man. As a man, he was ever the scholarly gentleman; as a scholar, he was always the thoroughly human man. The learning of some men reminds one of the showman's bag of tricks, an external acquirement which may be displayed upon occasion to impress those who may be impressible. Professor Cooley never gave the impression of attempting to enhance his personal prestige through any sort of exhibitionism. He merely lived his life quietly and

unassumingly, and as a purely natural expression of that life, he gave to the world a priceless contribution of ideas.

In the midst of a hurrying, worrying world, he lived a life of quiet serenity, which those who value peace of mind may well envy. In his own way, which was not the way of the theological orthodoxy of any creed, he had gotten himself "right with God." He had passed "out of the harassing passions of the smaller self onto the repose of a broad stream," and could say without affectation, "It is grateful to think how well the world could do without me. I may, then, enjoy the spectacle."

"The current of life flows on bearing some of us on the surface in sunlight and joy; others, or ourselves at another time, are rolled beneath the water, in darkness and suffocation. Sooner or later we all sink, but the stream flows still in splendor and beauty." For those who knew him well, there is the vivid realization that the stream of life will forever flow more splendidly and beautifully because he lived.[1]

1 All quotations, save the one credited to *Social Organization*, are from *Life and the Student*.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY IN GERMANY II*

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SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY is not an historical doctrine, it does not deal primarily with the products of cultural development, but with the psychic phenomena within a social group; it describes them, classifies them, analyzes and explains them in order to find the laws which govern them. The material is to be obtained through the isolation of those phenomena of social life, which embody the mental relationships, as well as those phenomena of mental life which are conditioned by mutual influencing of individuals. As a theory of social groups the first part deals with the structural elements within which social-psychic phenomena occur. As a theory of social-psychic process, the second part deals with (1) social representations (i.e., representations of social groups, for instance, attitudes of a certain social class or of a certain epoch) and with (2) social volitions (i.e., social desires of different kinds, e.g., desires which find their expression in customs (*Sitte*) or in the direction of the common interest, such as that of an athletic club). As a theory of the interrelations of individual members within a group, the third part deals with relations as super-ordination, sub-ordination, co-ordination, imitation and suggestion.

Although we notice in Eulenberg a tendency to shift his interest toward a socially related individual, still his principal study is society or the group. The first to study the psychology of the socially related individual was Rudolf Maria Holzapfel. His book, *Panideal*, published in 1901, is a rich contribution to a "psychology of social feeling" with a quite marked social psychological attitude although written in an artistic manner. His underlying socio-psychological attitude found its expression in his dissertation, "The Essence and Methods of Social Psychology," written in 1903. He says there that in order to be accurate one must speak only of social psychology not of individual psychology because all human experiences, to be sure, are somehow socially conditioned and determined. To define social psychology in a narrower sense we have to assign to it as its subject matter "all psychic human experience resulting from the human relationship of at least two persons." In this sense, Holzapfel calls social psychology "social psychology of coordination." Next to it he ranks individual sociology and sociology. The subject matter of the former is defined as, "all human experiences resulting from a relationship between an individual and one or more groups." The subject matter of sociology is "those human experiences which can be thought of as results of a relationship of at least two groups." The peculiar, not always clearly stated forms of expression of Holzapfel were apparently the cause which prevented his larger influence.

Much more attention was attracted by a short article, "On the Substance of Social Psychology," written in 1908 by Georg Simmel, who like Holzapfel, contributed to a formulation of the concept of social psychology. Simmel considered a methodological separation of sociology from psychology and from social psychology as taken for granted. Social psychology according to him, is not independ-

ent of individual psychology and cannot be ranked as an
equivalent science. It differs by nature and content. This
is shown by the fact that mental processes take place only
in individuals. It was contended that language, customs
(*Sitte*), and law, are products of mental life (*Seelenhaftig-
keit*) which exist in society and yet do not depend upon
the individual as such, and that consequently society is a
mental agent outside of individuals to be considered as
their creator and conservor. This confusion according to
Simmel was caused by the doubtful alternative: if the
mentality (*das Geistige*) is not a product of individual
minds it must then be a product of social mind. But says
Simmel there is a third possibility: that of an objective
mental content which is not psychological any more. One
must distinguish between the concrete mental phenomena,
giving rise to language, customs, and law, and their ab-
stracted contents having no mental life and therefore need-
ing no empirical bearer (Traeger). Consequently, they do
not exist but they are nevertheless valid (*gueltig*). The
deceptiveness of "collective psychology" is based upon a
mistake made by summarizing many subjective mental
phenomena and explaining them as a result of a separate
and independent mental phenomenon, namely, of collec-
tive mind. With the pointing out of this false conclusion
the impossibility of the general distinction between indi-
vidual and collective psychology becomes obvious. Never-
theless, it is undeniable that there is a qualitative differ-
ence between the feelings, behavior and ideas of an indi-
vidual taken in the crowd and the mental phenomena
which occur within an isolated individual (*Individuen im
individuellen Fuersichsein*). Seemingly a new particular
unit arises out of the individuals in the group or
crowd; but in reality we are dealing only with certain
aspects of behavior of individuals influenced by the fact

that they are surrounded by a group or crowd. Thus the problem of social psychology is defined as follows: "what modifications does the mental process of an individual undergo if it takes place under certain influences of social environment?" Social psychology is a part of general psychology, is a division of individual psychology, and is somewhat coordinated with physiological psychology. From this point of view Simmel does not attribute a socio-psychological character to sorts of problems often indicated as socio-psychological: the problems of a "statistical type" and those of an "ethnological type." The first sort of problems embraces a frequent occurrence of similar phenomena in a group which are not socially conditioned. For instance, suicides as well as national, class, or other mental data of a group may be purely parallel phenomena; and by defining them as socio-psychological phenomena one can produce a confusion of coincidence with concomitance (*Nebeneinader* and *Miteinander*). The second sort of problems includes the efforts which aim at finding an average (*Durchschnitt*) of a quite general description of psychic formations or phenomena in a group; for instance, if one attempts to show a Greek type in the battle of Marathon, one deals with an abstraction created for the sake of knowledge. It is a conceptual category but not a social one. It remains to mention that Simmel in his *Soziologie* as well as in the earlier works, as *Ueber soziale Differenzierung*, offered rich contributions to social psychology.

The significance of the work of Chr. D. Pflaum (1906) is that it, "in contrast to the prevailing onesidedness," emphasizes the necessity of studying both individual and social moments of mental life.

The works of H. L. Stoltenberg are an important step forward. His book on social psychology, which appeared partially in 1914 and then in 1922, marks the end of the

pre-war research and the beginning of the post-war epoch. Social psychology, according to Stoltenberg, deals with the phenomena which "have a mental significance and at the same time are somehow related to society." Owing to the nature of social-psychic phenomena social psychology can be divided into two parts: socio-psychology and psycho-sociology. The subject matter of socio-psychology is the phenomena which cannot be thought of except in the consciousness of an individual and in the conscious relations of an individual to his fellows. The subject matter of psycho-sociology is the phenomena "which consist in a variety of mental experiences of different individuals in a group of the bearers of such mental experiences." In the preface to the second part of his *Sozial Psychologie,* Stoltenberg arrives at a further division of socio-psychology into a socio-psychology in a narrow sense and a sociological psychology. The subject matter of the former is "the peculiar mental contents brought about by the group" or in other words "the forms of consciousness filled out by other men." The subject matter of the latter is "the modification of the habitual mental processes or abilities by a group," in other words, "the conditioning of the changes and developments of the consciousness by the social life" (*durch das Zusammenleben*).

Whatever judgment we may pass upon the works of Stoltenberg, we must acknowledge their twofold significance: they endeavor to give not only the principle of the system but to develop from this principle the system itself in its salient features. The author is penetrating in his discriminations. His language, however, full of subjective neologisms makes difficult the understanding of his ideas even for Germans; for non-Germans it makes his work inaccessible.

In the same year with the second volume of Stoltenberg's *Social Psychology* appeared *Psychologie der Gesellschaft*

by Aloys Fischer. "The central problems of social psychology," according to him, are fourfold: (1) "The search into a formation and maintenance of those dispositions and functions of mental life which are related to society; the social sides of human beings, which appear as social dispositions, impulses, and feelings, create "the natural link between psychology and social psychology." When "the psychological a priori of all social formation" has been shown, (2) an investigation proceeds into another set of problems to determine "how society and its specific forms, institutions, and states affect the mental life of men living in it." By that Fischer means "psychology of social layers," i.e., in view of class organization—the psychology of a nobleman, of a bourgeois, of a workman; in view of economical organization—the psychology of professions, of a farmer, of an independent artisan, of a merchant, of a university man and so forth; in view of form of settlement —the psychology of the village, of the small town, of the city. (3) The third set of problems deals with "the psychology of institutions," with establishments, regulations, and constituent elements of the objective side of society in their rise, maintenance and functioning. (4) The fourth set of questions aims at "a comprehension of the spirit of society," the kernel of which is "the general and super-individual validity (*Geltung*) of the mental content" and which finds more or less tangible objectivation in religious, moral, artistic, scientific and technical culture values. Fischer also points out that the psychology of races and peoples, of sex and age, likewise must be treated social-psychologically and that "even a psychological interpretation of things and products of men, of inventions and monuments," as well as numerous questions of psychology of types enter into the domain of social psychological investigation. At once it appears that Fischer has greatly en-

larged the concept of social psychology especially when compared with Simmel. In his third and fourth sets of questions Fischer clearly suggests the American writer, Kantor, although apparently unacquainted with the man. In special chapters, Fischer treats: II. Psychology of Mutual Influencing, III. Social Milieu, Traditions, Organization, IV. Authority, Leadership, Representation, V. Psychology of Social Ranks and Classes, VI. Psychology of the Mass, VII. Individual and Society, VIII. Development of Social Consciousness in Childhood, in the School Age and in Youth.

In his paper written in 1923 Fischer enlarged his classification. He distinguished between pure, genetic, and applied sociology. Sociology is something different from the sum of social sciences and historical doctrines. "It is the philosophy, the fundamental principles underlying these sciences and doctrines." Sociology is a general study of society, and it investigates "what society is, what kinds and forms of society exist, how, by means of what, and under what conditions society is formed, what constantly working incentives produce the renewal, the maintenance, and the continuity of the social associations of mankind, and so forth." Psychology cannot be substituted for sociology; neither can it serve as its foundation. Likewise sociology cannot be also considered as folk-psychology. There are apparently four groups of data which have to be treated by methods reaching beyond the individual and which at the same time "can make up the subject matter of folk-psychology; (1) the uniformity of the psychic structure of individuals belonging genealogically together, (2) the similarity of the mental content of individuals who belong together according to the popular opinion, (3) the conformity in the aims and wishes of many different individuals, in the matter of their feelings and values, in the content of

their beliefs and their convictions . . . and finally (4) the uniformity and superindividual binding force of culture values in general." Folk-psychology lacks its own subject matter and its own method, and is not a science. It is true that the uniformities and conformities of many individuals making up a "folk," create a problem of psychology in regard to their psychic organization and mental activity as is also the case with "individual differences between individuals." "The subject matter of social psychology is by no means different from that of psychology, i.e., the mental life of men; but social psychology studies this mental life in its dependence upon societary forms, upon the culture contents carried by society and in its significance for social purposes and socially confirmed cultural aims." "Social psychology deals with mental life filled with a concrete content and not only with its abstract functions, but with the functions it deals only from the point of view of the purposes of the social life and of their dependence upon social forms."

The next author to be mentioned is Will Hellpach who for more than twenty-five years devoted himself to the study of social-psychological questions. In the fortieth chapter of his book, *Die Grenzwissenschaften der Psychologie* ("The Border Sciences of Psychology"), (1902), he discussed "The Tasks of Social Psychology." Hellpach was obviously under the influence of Wundt and of Lamprecht. Consequently, both history and sociology (the latter he identifies here with social psychology) deal, according to him, with social-psychological data, although from different points of view. History observes social-psychic occurrences in their development, describes and compares social-psychic changes, and finds similarities and laws; it thus procures conceptual knowledge of development. On the other hand, "the task of sociology corresponds to that

of general psychology; the latter deals with the psychic life of an individual, the former with that of the group. Sociology probes into social-psychic elementary phenomena; it is a general social psychology." Sociology arrives through analysis at the ultimate social-psychic elements, "i.e., the components which cannot be compared any further, to un-similarities," and thus procures elementary conceptual knowledge. In 1905, Hellpach published a paper on social psycho-pathology, and in 1908 a small book, *Die geistigen Epidemien* (The Mental Epidemics), and in 1903 a paper, "About the Expression of the Dilemma." Since 1912, he has lectured on social psychology in the Technischen Hochschule in Karlsruhe; in 1920 he occupied the chair of social psychology, the only one so far in Germany; in 1921 an Institute for Social Psychology was established under his guidance. The records of research work are published in *Sozialpsychologischen Forschungen* of the Institute, of which the first volume appeared in 1922. In the preface, Hellpach defines social psychology as "a branch of science of psychic data which arises through the life of man among his fellow men." He declines to define the dividing line between social psychology and sociology. In his contribution to social psychology, published in 1924, under the title *Psychologie der Umwelt* (Psychology of Environment), he begins with Simmel's statement of the problem and proclaims as the content of social psychological exploration a study of "how individual-psychic data are changed by social-psychic influences, i.e., by influences which are brought about by the psychic data of fellow men." Social psychology, next to geo-psychology and psychology of culture, is part of the "Psychology of Environment." The studies "of any kind of collective soul, of social psyche, of communal mind, of mass psyche or of similar things," Hellpach commits to social philosophy. He distinguishes

five parts of the main problem: (1) "The problem of the nature of social-psychic relations deals with the question: In what way, with what means and instrumentalities can and does one human being affect another, psychically?" (2) "The problem of motivating forces of a social-psychic relation" deals with the question: Through which mental causes, incentives, motives, bases, etc., does one human being affect the other psychically' (3) "The problem of forms of social-psychic relations, deals with the concrete products of associations, families, crowds." (4) The problem of individual influence in social-psychic relations, refers to the question: What psychic changes does an individual experience through the social-psychic relations which work upon him? (5) "The problem of the collective influence upon social psychic relations" deals with the psycho-physical behavior which results as a concurring behavior of few or many. "Each social-psychic fact of reality contains these five problems in a form of unity"; research, in order to attain its purpose, must split this unity into component problems. Hellpach in his five short chapters contributes to the five main problems of social psychology, in which he emphasizes, according to the character of his work, its methodological aspect.

Whereas Hellpach does not pay any special attention to social psychological classification, this is done in the work of the late Gaston Roffenstein, *Der Gegenstand der Sozialpsychologie und der Soziologie* (The Subject Matter of Social-Psychology and of Sociology) (1925). According to him the "program of social psychology" has to embrace: (1) "the understanding of the complete psychic processes of persons or better, of that part of them which maintains its character through the relation to the fellow man," (2) "the understanding of society." In these relations the fellow man or the group represents either a conscious con-

tent (e.g., in the impulse for charity, in the striving for status, in the wish for power, in the attitude of love and hatred), or they appear as a conditioning factor without necessarily being experienced (e.g., in imitation, in belief, in suggestion). Such a relation, however, is social-psychic only in case the man to man relation is underlying it as its essence, and is not of this character if it merely conditions the use and development of the psychic process. For instance, one's impressions during the listening to music are not social-psychological subject matter, although this musical work was composed by another man and is produced by a third man. Another instance: although language as a whole is a product of society, only certain parts of the psychology of language can be treated as chapters of social psychology, because in none of them does the social relation stand in the foreground as its essential part. In accordance with the indicated two kinds of relationships to a fellow man, social psychology has two great fields; the first embraces "the conscious attitudes of men to each other, the relationships in which a fellow man and the group create their emotional content. The second field we can generally indicate as the effects of suggestions (imitation, belief, influences of masses, etc.)." Another division of social psychology corresponds to the relations on one hand between individuals and separate men, and on the other, between the individual and the whole group. Both divisions of the program for social psychology, the understanding of a socially related individual, and that of society, have the same starting point: the individual. They differ only in the point of view. For instance, the national feeling can be emphasized in regard to individual persons, and be questioned in regard to its significance for the shaping of the lives of individual persons. One can study it again in another setting: why and to what extent it is de-

cisive for social phenomena. According to the point of view, "the psychic facts or some of them can be connected at any time with a different index, and can belong every-time to different associations of ideas. There is scarcely a possibility of confusion as to social psychology which has for its subject matter the individual. But as to the psychology of society it is necessary to insist that sociology is a "science of the nature, form, and process of socialization, i.e., of its structures and of the changes of structures in their causal connections." Social psychology and sociology are so closely connected that the former is considered a subsidiary science and a preliminary stage of the latter. Like general psychology, social psychology also has its general and differential side. In the differential fields of both, the circles are intersected. For instance, that which Kuelpe called typology (psychology of an artist, of a workman, and of an Englishman, etc.) is included in differential psychology (psychology of social layers, etc.). He considers as purposeless Stoltenberg's division of social psychology into socio-psychology and psycho-sociology.

Raab offers a not many-sided but noteworthy introduction to social psychology. He remarks about the relation between social psychology and sociology that both are concerned with the conscious relations of men to each other. The fundamental problem of sociology is: "How do the conscious relations between many men exist?" The fundamental social-psychological problem on the other side is: "How the process of consciousness of an individual is conditioned by relations to one man or many other men, and the reverse." The subject-matter of sociology is the relations between conscious beings, and it can have an additional content (although it is frequently disputed) beyond the mental experiences of these beings. "On the contrary, social psychology deals with actual mental experiences

themselves, insofar as they determine the relations to other men or are conditioned by them." Social psychology is not so much a part of psychology or a division of physiological psychology as it is an aspect of all research branches of psychology, of phenomenological, of interpretative psychology and of course always of individual psychology, in which social psychology is included and not coordinated nor subordinated. If folk psychology is not limited by social-psychological pursuits, mass psychology on the other side is a special field of social psychology "and that only of its interpretative part which deals with the dependency of mental life of individuals upon the awareness of certain societary relations; as to mass psychology of the present, it investigates the individual mental life of masses of men found in similar situations."

As the last contribution to social-psychological classification there remains the work of Kurt Haase. Haase built his views upon the study of modern trends in social psychology in Germany, toward which he assumes a curt critical attitude. He starts with the argument that all psychology can only be the psychology of individuals because there are only individual experiences. Therefore, the subject matter of "social psychology as a branch of psychological doctrine can be only those individual experiences which are related to the social environment." Likewise, "the psychology of society or the psychology of the group is based upon individual experiences, and therefore is also social psychology, so far at it treats the socially related experiences of the members of the group." "Social psychology serves in this case a task strange to its scientific purpose and chooses according to it the subject matter that takes it away from its direct subject, for thus social psychology studies the sociological structure of the group. Therefore, we can speak here of an 'applied social psychol-

ogy.' From this has to be distinguished "special" social psychology which in common with "general" social psychology has for its purpose the understanding of an individual in his socially related experiences. Whereas, however, general social psychology does not concern itself with a concrete individual, special psychology deals only with the social-psychic experiences of a certain concrete individual. To special social psychology belong such themes as the social psychology of the proletarian, of employees, and also the social psychology of certain concrete personalities like Bismarck. As to the treatment of the problem, general, as well as special, social psychology can be divided into systematical and genetical parts.

In 1927, Charlotte Buhler in her collective report "Social Psychology" to the Tenth Congress of Experimental Psychology emphasized the necessity, after a long period of pure theoretical research, of beginning to work in the field of experimental social psychology. Although she insisted that the foundation for this work has been created, she did not give the concrete facts showing the scope of this possibility.

F. Schneersohn, who has made the latest contribution to social psychology, points out the scarcity of the experimental application of social psychology in Germany. In the matter of definition of the subject matter of social psychology, his work shows a certain regress, but he shows a noteworthy progress in his method of the working out of problems. Schneersohn rightly emphasizes that the social-psychic reality in its life's complication remains still to a considerable extent "more a matter of knowing than of science." The chief cause of it is the lack of concreteness in the research work; it should devote itself more to the study of separate and quite concrete processes. The explanations of social phenomena with the help of sugges-

tion and imitation need a decisive criticism. Only that
suggestion works upon a man which corresponds to a cer-
tain extent to the dispositions, views, and mental state of
individuals. By the word "suggestion" one indicates
only the presence of a certain influence, but the inner na-
ture of this process of influence is not explained nor discov-
ered. The same applies to imitation. There exists no
general imitation; human beings react spontaneously to
each perceived behavior according to their internal and ex-
ternal life conditions. Imitation is not a phenomenon ex-
plaining anything, but it is a phenomenon which has to be
explained itself on the ground of the concrete individual's
psychic reality. The question of the existence of social in-
stinct cannot be considered, according to the modern state
of science, as explained and settled. It is necessary also to
distinguish between "habitual or normal and inhabitual or
abnormal" phenomena.

A remaining work is that of L. H. Ad. Geck, *Sozialpsy-
chologie im Auslande*, which has the intention of making
the readers acquainted with the works in this field which
have been very little known in Germany until now, and of
giving the possibility of finding the connecting points. The
author chooses for his book a form of bibliographical re-
port. The book indicates the general line of development
of social-psychological research, especially in Italy, France,
England, and the United States of America, and calls at-
tention to the works which have been published there on
social psychology. In order to offer something more than
a mere bibliography, the problem of social-psychological
classification is pushed into the foreground and the rela-
tion of social psychology to sociology is analyzed.

Mention should also be made of a genetic approach to
social psychology. In an attempt to describe fully and
coherently the psychic phenomena and to explain them ac-

cording to more and more general laws, one must make
necessarily a methodical search into their genetic condi-
tions. Following this endeavor one will come very soon
to social, i.e., interhuman conditions, and in their psycho-
logical treatment one will enter into the field of social psy-
chology. This was done by Felix Krueger, a student and
follower of Wundt in Leipzig, in his *Entwicklungpsychol-
ogie* (The Psychology of Development). In his book pub-
lished under the same title in 1916, he devoted a special
chapter to "social psychology of development" in which he
made the statement: "The necessity of a special social-psy-
chological formulation of problems and methods is based
simply upon the fact that common mental life gives rise
to and maintains special conditions without knowledge of
which a complete theory of psychic phenomena is impos-
sible." The abstraction from social conditioning of mental
life can be serviceable or merely harmless for psychological
knowledge only if this is done methodically and according
to a conscious plan. The more complicated the mental
products are, and the more central functions the psycholo-
gist investigates, the less he is allowed to overlook their
socially conditioned development. But social condition-
ing of mental life cannot be conceived without a historical
study, and both of them cannot be conceived without a
genetical, comparative analysis. In his social psychologi-
cal research, Krueger also takes a critical attitude toward
the views of Wundt, Simmel, and Broenner, as well as to-
ward the Romanic mass-psychologists. Here he deals with
the problem of the psychology of culture.

Between social psychology and traditional psychology
lies the so-called "individual psychology" of Alfred Adler.
According to B. Klopfer (*Schule und Leben,* Issue 10, "In-
dividualpsychologie und Paedagogik," Berlin, 1927), Ad-
ler's views can be condensed into two most important prop-

ositions: (1) The conception that all mental phenomena are interrelated and enclosed in themselves. (2) The conception of the mental substance of social relations. Adler says: "The weakness and helplessness of a child produces as a rule a feeling of inferiority toward grown-up persons, and toward the world in general; and requires a redemption. Poor education, unfavorable situations, and inborn bodily weakness increase this feeling of inferiority and consequently prompt the desire of a child for status and power. To this inbred feeling he opposes an inborn feeling of sociability. Thus comes about "a moving line of human striving, blended from the feeling of sociability and the desire for personal superiority." The stronger the feeling of insufficiency the more is emphasized the striving for status and power. In opposition to this striving, which persistently endeavors to exploit the community for its own prestige, stands the social feeling that strengthens society. If the striving for status with its goal to excel others is a motivating force which directs all human behavior, then its tremendous importance is self-evident. Roffenstein, as well as Klopfer, has a right to call Adler's theory "a specific social psychology" (Roffenstein) or "sociological psychology" (Klopfer). Adler himself says: "The individual psychological research endeavors to deepen human knowledge, which can be achieved through the understanding of the position of the individual to his socially determined tasks."[1]

The treatment of social-psychological problem-analysis or social psychological classification is focussed in the lime-

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[1] A student of Adler, Erwin Weseberg, gives an extensive account of individual psychology which has been lacking until now. Of special interest to social psychology are the following chapters of Adler's work, *The History of the Development of Personality*, "Feeling of Inferiority," "Striving for Status," "Feeling of Sociability," "Social and Economic Conditions of Mental Development."

light of the present work. This was prompted to a certain extent by a consideration of the lack of special works devoted to the classification of German social psychology. Very many, not to say all, of these works lack in social psychological method in the treatment of problems, and are written from the psychological point of view. In the plan of the present bibliographical introduction, it was not intended to give a systematic survey of these writings. Only a few of them can be mentioned here but to do so is necessary in order to call attention indirectly to some of the specific problems.

First of all, should be indicated *Psychologie der Zusammenhaenge und Beziehungen* by Vera Strasser, which treats the various data of social-psychic reality. Mention should also be made of works dealing with two problems, so popular in the days of the childhood of modern social psychology, i.e., the works on imitation (for instance, by Beck and by Lessing) and on suggestion (by Lipps, Weimer, Kauffmann, and Straus). The work of Straus is one of the best on the latter subject. One may mention that Simmel, as far back as 1890 emphasized that imitation is of the greatest importance in social relations, and that he, like Vierkandt and Hellpach opposed very early the use of suggestion as a universal explanation. Simmel wrote in 1897 on occasion of the analysis of Sighele's book: "The modern concept of suggestion cannot withstand criticism. Basically, it is merely a name for a succession of phenomena, which are very important, but which have been known for a long time. The real problem is to describe the process accounting for the volitional and intellectual content of a personality. Hellpach also turned in 1906 against the reference to the concept-suggestion for the explanation of other phenomena. Vierkandt did the same as far back as 1904, in analyzing the work of Stoll, *Suggestion and Hyp-*

notismus in der Voelkerpsychologie (Suggestion and Hypnotism in Folk Psychology).[2]

Especial notice may be given to Moede's endeavor to apply experiments in social psychological research. His work will be analyzed in the treatment of mass psychology. It will not be out of place to call atention to the works in differential and comparative psychology and social psychology. It is impossible to go into the details of this literature.[3]

[2] The following works are to be mentioned also:

M. Geiger, The Nature and Significance of Emphathy
Friedmann on jealousy
Hohenemser on shame
Grothuysen on sympathy
Stern on compassion
Ludwigstein and Dietrich von Hildebrand on authority
Hellpach on embarrassment
Guardini, The Foundation of the Consciousness of Security in Social Relations
Moede on competition
Elsenhans, To the Psychology of Influence on Other People
Baumgarten on the types of reaction in social behavior
Max Scheler on sympathy
Gerhardt on the psychology of dependency
Wieser on power
Haase on pattern

[3] There are a number of works on the social psychology of childhood and youth, namely:

August Meyer, *Individual and Collective Work of the School Child*
F. Schmidt, *School and House Work of a School Child*
Joseph Loos, *Collective Recitation*
Moede on *Collective and Individual Learning*
W. Boeck, *Compassion among Children*
Henseling, *Collective Spirit of the School Class*
Hugo Gaudig, *School Mood*
Adolph Kruckenberg, *The School Class as a Form of Life*
W. O. Doering, *The Psychology of the School Class*
Adoys Fischer, *The Stages of the Development of Social Consciousness in the Childhood and Youth*
Karl Reininger, *Social Forms of Behavior in the Age of Adolescence*
Charlotte Buehler, *The First Signs of Social Behavior of a Child*
Hildegard Hetzer, *The Earliest Adolescent Reaction on the Human Voice*
———"The Influence of So-Called Negative Phases on the Social Behavior of a Girl"
Lucia Vecerka on *Social Behavior of Girls during the Time of Maturity*
Helen Glaue-Bulss, *The Enthusiasm of Young Girls*

Studies of the social psychology of childhood are not seldom found in works on the psychology of children;for instance, an outstanding monographic study by Elsa Koehler on "Personality of the Three-year-old Child" in which she interprets from every day notes imitation, mimicry and social behavior of a girl.

The social psychology of animals, if one can speak of it at all, is just in its beginning in Germany. The works of David Katz, who endeavors especially to apply the result of psychological study of animals to the social psychology of man, are perhaps the only works in this field. He made a contribution to the social psychology of birds. Justifiably we may mention here the works of a Norwegian, Thorleit Schelderup-Effe on the social psychology of birds, which was written and published in Germany. But all these contributions are rather sociological than social-psychological.

In conclusion we shall call attention to social psychopathology, in which the works of Willhelm and Hellpach, Arthur Kronfeld, and F. Schneersohn are noted.

Hellpach apparently was the first to make an attempt to lay the foundations of social psychopathology, namely in 1905, in his short paper "Social Pathology as a Science." Before him, Schaeffle touched this problem in his book *Sozial Psychiatrie*. Social pathology as a science, according to Hellpach, is a part of psychology. "Not the social, but the social-psychic must be considered the cause of a social-pathological phenomenon. Not the political-economical fact that five persons are crowded into one room "has the greatest importance for our problem, but its psychic aspect which takes place in this form of communication." For Hellpach "the mental disturbances produced by social-psychic causes are the subject matter of social psychopathology."

Kronfeld, also, emphasized that we move within the field of psychology when we deal with "psychopathology." He distinguishes between two fundamental problems, "sociological psychopathology" and "psychopathological sociology." The fundamental problem of the former is the pathological influence of social life upon individuals; the fundamental problem of the latter is, how psychopathological phenomena and the abnormal mental life of an individual affect forms of social life.

This distinction, however it seems to be justified, is shared by Schneersohn only to a certain extent. As Stoltenberg distinguished between socio-psychology and psycho-sociology, he distinguishes between socio-psychology and social psychology, "because that helps to divide two different fields of exploration which otherwise occasionally may infringe on one another by terminology that is not clear." Socio-psychology, according to him, has society as subject matter, i.e., "the psychic expression in its societary structural specificness"; "social psychology does not study the psychic phenomena of separate individuals, but those of society as a structural unit." Hellpach furthermore conceives social psychopathology as a science which studies the social significance of individual psychic abnormality insofar as these affect the social life, or are affected by it. Schneersohn, on the other hand, creates "a sharply outlined doctrine of socio-psychopathology." In contradistinction to socio-psychology, social psycho-pathology studies the abnormal morbid phenomena of societary psyche, or the psychic phenomena of the mass and of society in times of insurrection and social disturbance." He divides his socio-psychopathology into a general and specific part; "the former analyzes the general principle and laws of the abnormal psychic phenomena in the light of societies and

masses. The latter deals with the study of such phenomena in specific, concrete societies, and masses."[4]

Special attention is given to social psychology and to all its branches in *Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie und Soziologie,* published quarterly by Richard Thurnwald since 1925. So far as one can judge from his contributions, Thurnwald himself is not a social psychologist.

[4] Among selected works on socio-psychopathology may be mentioned:

The Mental Epidemics by Hellpach
The Study of Psychic Mass Epidemics by Hans Gudden
A Contribution to the Study of Psychic Epidemics by Wilhelm Weygandt
Mass Psychosis by Kurt Baschwitz
Der Sensitive Beziehungswahn by Ernst Kretschmer
Die Beziehungskranken by Strasser

CULTURAL SYNTHESIS IN CHINA

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THE OUTSTANDING characteristic of the new Nationalist China is the aversion to the old cultural pattern and the desire to recreate the institutions of China on totally new lines. The old clan system is looked upon by the Nationalists as an instrument of oppression; the old guilds are considered archaic and useless; the old village life is looked upon as stupid and backward. On the ancient drum tower at the center of China's new capital, Nanking is a huge motto reading "All True Wisdom and Special Skill comes from Science." The object of the new Nationalist renovation of an outworn and age long system is to be obtained by the use of the scientific instruments of the West. Western instruments of modernization are to be weighed in the balance and those reforms which are of value to the new China are to be selected for use.

A favorite phrase of the young Nationalists is "Ta Tao" or "over throw," more literally—"Down with." The old rubbish is first to be cleared away and the new rebuilt when the rubbish is cleared away.

The national program as a whole is a modernist scheme worked out largely by Western trained young men. The present effort is to "put over" the whole system of One Party Constitutional Government. The new system emanates from the top and is imposed in successive stages on the provinces, counties, and even in sub-divisions of the county.

In discussing this situation with a noted Chinese scholar, I remarked that it seemed a pity that for the present the essential values of ancient Chinese culture seemed to be neglected and the whole effort appeared to be the rapid modernization of the nation along Western and semi-Western lines. He, himself, a professor of Chinese Philosophy stated, "You Westerners don't understand the problems. You don't appreciate the oppressiveness of the ancient system. Furthermore, the contact with the West has made imperative immediate change. We must have the implements of the West or perish as a nation."

When Bertrand Russell left China a few years ago, he warned the Chinese students in his last address to beware of the machine civilization and the mechanization from the West and to preserve their own culture. A few days later, Dr. Wu Chih-hui a leading Chinese philosopher and statesman replied publicly to Dr. Russell. He said in substance "Dr. Russell is speaking to the West from an Eastern platform. The West needs the calm, the repose, the synthetic philosophic outlook—the art of China, but we need the machine from the West. We must encourage production and efficiency if we are to be a strong nation. I would advise for the next period of years that we neglect the classics and the ancient culture and devote ourselves to the procuring of instruments and machines that have made Western nations strong."

The West undoubtedly has much to learn from the way in which China is taking and using occidental instruments. The study of the use of Propaganda in China for the creation of public opinion, an investigation of the rural credit schemes of the Nationalist famine Relief Commission and acquaintance with the Mass Educational Movement—all these and many other studies of contemporary movement which are making use of Western methods are very illuminating.

But are there also no indications that the civilization now being created in China may not have some new contribution to the West because of the combination of the ancient heritage of China's civilization with Euro-American culture? There must be some inspiration of value to nations from the synthetic philosophy of old China that emphasizes so strongly the synthetic rather than the analytic method of modern science. The social solidarity of guild, clan, and village, so different from the extreme individualism of America surely must be having its effect in the formation of the new culture in China.

There are evidences even in the contemporary revolutionary period that the old culture will not be without its effect on the new civilization. The constitution of the Nationalist government is an illustration of the combination of Orient and Occident. There are not the usual three branches of the government, but five. Added to the executive, the legislative, and the judicial, are the examination or civil service of the supervisory division of the government. True to the ancient tradition that the scholar should lead and that the man of adequate training should have power in the nation, one whole division of the government is devoted to the selection of efficient officials for all its branches. As in ancient days the prospective officials were examined in the old Classics, so today there are to be examinations in the principles of government, economics, and law. In the democracy of China is an oligarchy of the intellectual; New China is to be led by men of training.

Running parallel to all branches of government—national, provincial, county, and even the subdivision of the county—is what are known as Supervisory Councils. From centuries of experience the Chinese have realized that no set of officials, whether elected or appointed, can be fully trusted to carry out the people's will without some system

of being checked up. In America we depend upon the occasional uprising of the people in protest against corruption or on occasion give the power to recall to the people. In China there is a permanent branch of the government, comprised usually of elder and respected citizens, whose business it is to censor the government when censoring is needed and to investigate the expenditure of finance in all its branches. This division has the power to impeach any official and to bring him before the courts of law for trial. The Supervisory Division may be called a substitute for organized public opinion, permanently "on the job" to act in behalf of the people.

In certain local communities in China today there are interesting experiments in the reorganization of community life. For example, in Ting Hsien the Mass Education Movement has set itself to the study of a county—its economic, educational, agricultural, social, and political life, with a view to devising means for its thorough reorganization. The object of this particular study is to build up an adapted curriculum for training in citizenship in folk-schools. The method is objective, to learn the actual conditions of life in the district; then to make a picture of how the life of this area can be reorganized; finally, to train the people to recreate their own communities.

In many other centers the Nationalist Government under local officials, under the leadership of industrialists or philanthropists, there are experiments in operation for the total reorganization of local community life, on the basis of functional, occupational groups and commission control.

Contemporary China has many lessons for the West which can be learned from the study of the way in which she is meeting her own problems, by utilizing Western instruments. She already has other lessons made available by the way in which she is adapting Eastern to Western

culture.   After the first years of revolutionary change, after the new instruments have been more thoroughly mastered it is probable that the valuable contributions of the latter type will increase in number and that the Chinese will realize the importance of conserving the value of the old culture as well as of utilizing the instruments of the new.

PARENT-CHILD CONFLICT II

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IN A PREVIOUS PAPER,[1] the writer suggested that conflict between parents and their children might frequently be traced back either to parental neglect or to parental dominance. Both the neglect and the dominance leading to the conflict were definitely attributed to the attitude of the parent toward the child. The parent neglected his child because he was indifferent to its welfare, and the conflict came with the child's resentment against this indifference; or the parent sought to impose his own ways of doing and of thinking upon the child, and the conflict symbolized the child's desire for "self-determination." In these instances, the primary causes of the discord inhere in the personality make-up of the conflicting parties.

ORIGINS IN THE OBJECTIVE SOCIAL SITUATION

This need not be the case, however. Both neglect and dominance may issue out of the social setting of which the parent and the child are a part, quite independent of their attitudes toward each other, and even in *opposition* to their attitudes toward each other. It is the family situation,—for which the personalities are not directly responsible,—out of which the conflict may spring. The primary social causes of the discord are to be found in the *objective* aspects of the social situation.

[1] *Sociology and Social Research*, May-June, 1929.

The immigrant father, for example, may very much desire intimate association with his children, but needs to forego it because of the long hours of labor necessary in order to keep his family alive. He goes to work early in the morning, before his children are awake, and he returns late at night, too weary to enjoy their stimulating freshness of spirit. The objective nature of a situation such as this, over which the parent has practically little or no control is indicated by the touching story Jane Addams tells of the needy working mother who, when asked to suggest some way in which she would like to be helped, replied she would like nothing more than to receive a day's wages, so she might spend at least a single full day holding her child in her arms.

The rôle of the objective situation in parent-child conflict is even more vividly revealed where it creates in the mind of the child the feeling that he is *dominated* by it. It appears that, quite independent of the wishes of the parent, the family situation may be such a one as to thwart the wishes, or the purposes, or the activities of the child. For certain settings have connected with them certain prescribed ways of doing, certain culture complexes that are, to all effects, binding upon those associated with the particular culture group. This is especially true of certain occupational pursuits of parents, which by their very nature tend to define and to limit the behavior of those in any way connected with them.

Thus, for example, the son of a great musician is not quite as free to play jazz music as is the son of an unskilled laborer; nor is the daughter of an ambassador as free to choose her associates as the daughter of an anthracite coal miner. Even more definitely, where the parents are engaged in serving the community as social workers, the children are likely to be restricted in the expression of their

personality by virtue of what the community expects of them. For instance, a minister's daughter is expected to conform to certain standards that society identifies with her position: standards of simplicity, righteousness, and, as the first excerpt below indicates, remarkable restraint and self-denial. The clothes she may wear, the manner she may assume, the activities in which she may engage are all conditioned by her father's occupation. Not infrequently there develops in the child a deep resentment against these restrictions upon behavior, and this in turn expresses itself in conflict with the parent whose position explains the limitations upon freedom, and who is therefore blamed for them.

> "Ministers' daughters and cackling hens
> Never come to any good ends."

This was the singsong taunt that plagued my childhood. With bewildering regularity ever since, some one is always laying bare the blighting inhibitions of the Puritan parsonage, till the minister's daughter suspects that if there isn't something radically wrong with her, there ought to be![2]

The following narrative, taken from the life-history of a minister's son,[3] indicates the nature of some of the "blighting inhibitions" and limitations:

When I was a child in my cradle my mother used to say, "Now remember, my child, whose child you are," or something like that. That meant we had always to be on perfect behavior. I thought it was anything but perfect, especially at home where we used to get into all kinds of squabbles, I or my brother or my sister, because we said we were too tired to go to prayer meeting. But there was

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[2] Barbara Vincent, "Ministers' Daughters," *Ladies Home Journal*, November, 1927.

[3] *See* H. Adler, "Home-Made Failures," in Fishbein and White, *Why Men Fail*, pp. 337 ff., for a somewhat similar case.

no arguing the case. We had to go. And pretty soon I had some regular jobs so that it became almost impossible to stay away. I had to pass out the hymn books, and see that none of the kids, or maybe their parents, tried to walk off with them.

In school I suffered a great deal. Some of the kids used to poke fun at me, and I felt like bumping them on the nose, and once I did. My father never got over it. Here was *the* chance for his boy to show the community what Christianity really was, and he didn't take it.

That was bad enough but worst of all was poverty. . . . Wearing clothes that didn't fit you and that belonged to somebody else. Once I got a pair of trousers that mother didn't have time to fix over. I wore them to school the next day, and the fellow whose nose I had punched looked at me and then yelled so everybody could hear, "Say, gang, lookit. He's got my old pants on."

It appears, accordingly, that because of his father's occupation, a child may be called upon to assume a social rôle that is not of his own choosing, and that is repugnant to him. Further in point, there is the case of W. B. whose father is a judge of considerable prominence. In keeping with the ethics of the profession, the judge is expected to refrain from expressing his opinion on political matters. It is not only the father, however, but the son, too, who feels this inhibiting force, for his words and his acts affect his father's status. W. B. is of a highly-assertive nature, and the limitations imposed upon him by the family setting rouse his ire, bringing him into intermittent conflict with his father. Parent-child opposition thus develops out of the objective features of the familial situation.

In still another way, conflict between parent and child may be referred to causes lying outside the relationship itself; namely, the bringing into the family circle of difficulties originating outside the home. A large number of contests that take place within the home represent difficulties that parent and children have encountered in their

own spheres of experience and have carried into the home, where an atmosphere of intimacy makes possible their un-loading. Thus, the father who, in the course of the day, has met with business reverses, and is accordingly piqued, may prove exceedingly reactive to his family in a negative way when he joins them in the evening. So, too, the very much dominated clerk may dominate his child when he gets home, thus gaining a compensatory sense of power.[4]

The child, of course, may be the carrier of the conflict germ as well as the parent. Where the child has encountered difficulties with his gang, or with his teacher, it frequently happens that he harbors a deep sense of revolt. Since the home is a sort of safety-valve for him, it is here he lets off steam. Here, too, he frequently releases tension accumulated as the result of his inability to cope with the extraordinary disagreement in the codes of behavior adults set up for him. The school, the church, the playground, the movies, the gang,—these institutions often set up claims which seem contradictory to the child, and which he is not able to harmonize. As a result, he frequently develops a mental conflict which, in turn, may express itself in social conflict with his parents. The conflict thus represents rebellion against inconsistency, and serves as relief from confusion.

ORIGINS IN SUBJECTIVE ASPECTS OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION

Although it is necessary, oftentimes, to apprehend conflict between parents and their children in terms of causal factors external to the relationship itself, it is probably true that most parent-child antipathies have their beginnings in the personalities themselves, and in the familial

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[4] *See* Groves and Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships,* pp. 78-9, for a penetrating discussion of this phenomenon.

interactions. It is not the occupation of the parent, nor his extra-familial circumstances, nor the out-of-the-home experiences of the child, which generally account for parent-child conflict, but rather the factors which are at work within the family itself. Thus we must look at conditions obtaining within the home, if we would explain most cases of conflict.

LACK OF HARMONY IN THE HOME

Primary as an origin of strife between parents and their children, both in point of frequency and potency, is the home in which harmony does not obtain. There is an overwhelming agreement among students of the subject to the effect that just as nothing so uniformly makes for socialization of personality as a happy, harmonious home, just so nothing conduces to the disorganization of personality more than a home wracked by dissonance and dissension. This, it appears, may be laid to the fact that the two fundamental desires of childhood,—the two chief determiners of disposition on the social side,—namely, security and love, are thwarted or gratified depending upon whether the home is characterized by discord or by harmony.

A lack of harmony in the home may be attributed to one or both of two conditions: either to a lack of *cooperation* on the part of the parents, or to a lack of *affection* between them. With respect to the first, it is by no means uncommon to find parents who, although evincing affection for each other, work at cross purposes in the matter of training their children. With reference to discipline, for example, standards of conduct set up by the one parent are frequently nullified by the other,—if not through actual veto, then through the display of an attitude of indifference.

"I sometimes spank her hard," confessed the father of five year old Norma Quirk, "but my wife always says, right before her, "That's not right." When parents disagree thus openly, they are not merely undermining their present control of the child; they are perhaps taking the first step toward turning their home into an armed camp of rival factions.[5]

It is, however, the home that is lacking in love that constitutes the greater problem. Thomas testifies, for example, "The most disheartening condition which we have to face . . . is the demoralized home. It appears in one study (Document No. 58, p. 100) that nine-tenths of the girls and three-fourths of the boys who reach the juvenile court come from bad homes."[6] Healy, after indicating statistics of success and of failure in the treatment of delinquent children, likewise concludes:

For the treatment of delinquency, the lesson to be learned from the above figures is very clear: the chances of good results through the removal of a child for a long time from a bad home are very considerable, the expectancy of bad results if not so removed is even greater.[7]

With respect to parent-child conflict, the same conclusion obtains. Nothing conduces to antagonistic attitudes more than to be reared in their midst. Nothing calls out of the child hostile responses to a parent more than acts of irresponsibility, infidelity, or injustice on the part of the parent in question. A home torn by discord conditions its children in habits of pugnacity, and of anger; or it causes them to react violently against the whole familial situation. Illness, nervous disorders, even nervous breakdowns are the child's responses to the hostile forces arrayed against him.

[5] M. B. Sayles, *The Problem Child at Home*, p. 22.
[6] *The Unadjusted Girl*, p. 209.
[7] *Delinquents and Criminals—Their Making and Unmaking*, p. 128.

A father and mother of good social position quarreled constantly. The wife worried over a supposed infidelity of the husband, and on several occasions separated from him. After reconciliation the husband left on business. The wife employed a detective who surprised the man in a hotel room with a girl, took them both to the police station. There was publicity and scandal. Nevertheless, after consulting with their many friends, both parents decided "to patch it up for the sake of the children." The home is an armed camp of a triumphant wronged woman, and a half-defiant sulky male, with the children taking sides as the needs and profit of the situation suggest. There are two, a girl of three, now going into tuberculosis, and a boy of a year who is developing temper tantrums.[8]

In other instances, the child reacts not against the discordant situation as such, but against the parent in particular who is held accountable for the discord. In other words, the child is motivated more by the desire to champion the cause of the "wronged" parent than by the wish to secure psychic security for himself. For example, in the case from which the following excerpt is taken, C. D. is intensely conscious of her father's failure to attend sympathetically to her mother during the latter's long years of illness. In fact, C. D. attributes her mother's prolonged ill health to her father's lack of sense of responsibility with regard to the home; and in consequence of her efforts to protect her mother, she comes into conflict with him.

My father was never very kind to her and he neglected her a whole lot. The doctor said last week that if she had had half a chance years ago, she could have come out all right. All she needed was rest, but she never got any. My father never supported the family the way he should, and so my mother had to go out to work. . . . When I got older, I began to hate my father. He wasn't my idea of what a father should be, neglecting us that way. I used to argue with him, and try to get him to be ashamed of himself, but it only made matters worse. Finally I went to work myself so my

8 M. Van Waters, *Youth in Conflict*, p. 73.

mother could stay home and take care of herself. Besides I have a little sister and brother who need her.

My mother had a nervous breakdown. She was worrying too much over my father. . . . She had to go to a hospital to be quiet for a long time. Her nerves were all worn out. . .

When my mother came back, I thought my father would surely be different, because he had a chance to learn how bad it was not to have her around, but instead he ran away. He said he wasn't going to have a burden like that all his life, to have a sick wife and need to support her, and so he skipped. The police tried to find him, but I think he went to Canada.

Thus it appears that children may resent a lack of fair play on the part of one parent in his or her relationship with the other, and so come into conflict with the unjust parent, in defense of the parent suffering the injustice. Children tend to react negatively to a parent who does not measure up to their concept of what a parent ought to be.

SHAME OF HOME AND PARENTS

The child's inclination to set up standards of conduct for his mother or father manifests itself not only in situations such as those related above, wherein the parents are held to be lacking in moral qualities essential to parenthood, but also in instances where the parents are regarded as lacking in the social graces,—the ways and the manners,—appropriate to the social groups in which the children move. Because the members of a family constitute an interacting unity, the status of any one of them is shared, in some measure, by all the others; and it is for this reason that the child feels he loses "prestige" in the various social groups of which he is a part when the culture attaching to his parents is regarded by him as inferior to the culture with which he wishes to identify himself.

Frequently the child shows his shame over the parental culture through conflict with his parents, the conflict be-

ing an expression of the child's desire to equip them with new culture-traits. In the cases at hand, the complexes of values about which conflicts revolve are first, those relating to the occupation of the parent, and secondly, those relating to other traits and complexes of traits of the parental culture. The following excerpt from the life-story of an eminent psychologist shows how intense may be the child's shame over his father's occupation, and how intense the hate aroused because of this shame.

The most mortifying thing to me during all my childhood was that my father, along with the other stock kept at the barn, raised and sold pigs, having sometimes half a dozen litters at once. . . . When they were four weeks old I was compelled to hold all the male pigs, one after another, for an operation that raised the utmost commotion in all the pens and brought forth the loudest squeals that human ears can bear. Worse yet, I sometimes had to drive the hogs for miles and occasionally through the town and back, past the houses of people and even girls I knew, for which I was often derided by my schoolmates.

. . . One day in a select school at the "corners" the teacher, a neighbor, who always put on airs, referred before the whole school to the cause of my absence the preceding day as driving hogs, which was true. Everybody tittered, and I think I have never felt a mortification so profound. . . . Years afterward, when I was instructor at Harvard, I lived for a year—and to all appearances most amicably —in the house with this man, and while I was there it so happened that he sickened and died in the night. . . . Even this and all the Christian spirit I have ever been able to summon never made me forget or very much abate this resentment.[9]

Although its expression is much less direct, the writer shows resentment against his father also. Such a phrase as "I was always very conscious of the public appearances of my father" indicates its subtle, indirect manifestation,—

[9] G. S. Hall, *Life and Confessions of a Psychologist*, pp. 76-77. On page 76 the author indicates also his reaction against his father.

the child shrinking from identification with the parent of whom he is ashamed.

In this connection, the relation of the folkways, under which a child lives, to conflict between his parents and himself deserves consideration. Case S. P. may be cited in point. In the narrative, prior to the sections quoted below, Miss S. P. tells of the suppressive character of family control, with consequent subordination, in the little Russian town where she spent the first twelve years of her life. In spite of such all-inclusive dominance, conflict does not result, there being nothing in the folkways to sanction a child's rebellion. To the contrary, the children accept their position as the only natural one.

Then, almost coincident with the emigration of the family to America comes conflict between S. P. and her parents. As she gains status in the new culture, a gradual dissatisfaction with the old arises, evidenced in her tendency to find fault with the home, and with other elements of her parents' culture. The breach is widened, further, by the efforts of the parents to keep their child from identifying herself too closely with a culture other than their own. S. P., on the contrary, realizes that her status in the new culture is conditioned by the status of her parents; accordingly, she undertakes to "teach" them English. This only intensifies the conflict, for the mother interprets the gesture as an overt indication of shame.

. . . When I got into high school I was going around with S., that girl I liked so much. She used to go around with a group of Gentile girls, and they used to have a very good time together. She introduced me to them, and I started to go around with them too.

I got to be quite a favorite with these girls, and used to go to their homes a great deal. My folks didn't like it. "You are forgetting you are Jewish. Aren't the Jewish girls good enough for you? What's the matter with Sadie? She has been asking for you many times, and you are always with the others."

Then I had fights with my father. He still used to boss us the way he did when we were little and lived in Russia. He thought we should obey everything he said. When I disobeyed him, or paid no attention to him, he would get very mad, and say that was what I was learning from my Christian friends.

. . . These girls were just as good as my Jewish girls and we got along fine. But my mother and father said I was getting to be ashamed of my religion and that pretty soon I would be ashamed of them too. They noticed how I disregarded the dietary laws. I couldn't help myself. At first I used to refuse food when I visited my Gentile friends, because I didn't know what it was or how it was prepared, but my girl friend said that wasn't polite. So pretty soon I was eating everything, and it tasted just as good. . . . When my mother heard of it the first time, she cried and said, "Is this what we have lived to see?"

This is a striking testimony to the significance of the folkways for parent-child conflict. Parental ways of doing, accepted in this little Russian town, are now open to question, because they do not conform to the newly defined social situation.

PARENTAL FAVORITISM

Still other pronounced parent-child conflicts,—and they constitute a considerable number of cases,—may be explained chiefly in terms of inferiority feelings developed in the child as a result of parental discrimination against him. Again the part played by the desire for status is significant, for it is the child's dissatisfaction with his position in the family circle that accounts for his reaction against it. When one notes how completely dependent upon the home the child is for the satisfaction of his desire "to belong," it is easy to understand the havoc wrought in the child by a feeling that he is not sufficiently esteemed by his parents.

In this connection, two fairly distinct situation-types may be differentiated: in the one, the child loses status

previously enjoyed; in the other, he lacks status from the start. The first is exceedingly common, and generally consists of the child's loss of status through the advent of a new brother or sister. Suddenly the child who has so long enjoyed the attention and the admiration of his parents finds he has a competitor. In no small number of cases, the baby brother or sister is regarded as an intruder by the older child; and this is especially true where the latter has been the recipient of too much parental attention, too much love, too much praise, which of necessity is now suddenly denied him. One such child, when informed of the birth of a baby-brother, commanded, "Throw it away! Throw it away!"[10] And Helen Keller confesses:

For a long time I regarded my little sister as an intruder. I knew that I had ceased to be my mother's only darling, and the thought filled me with jealousy. She sat in my mother's lap constantly, where I used to sit, and seemed to take up all her care and time.[11]

The feelings of inferiority, and of jealousy, which emerge from situations such as these, give birth to the "masculine protests" of the child which we recognize as conflict.

It is perfectly clear that in instances of this kind, the parent may have no conscious desire to discriminate against one child in favor of another. The necessities of the situation prompt the parental action. For this reason, among others, the conflicts occasioned are likely to be short-lived as compared with those obtaining in the second type of situation, in which the parent definitely allies himself with one child, his favorite, meanwhile ignoring or depreciating the other.[12]

10 M. B. Sayles, op. cit., p. 26.

11 "The Story of my Life," p. 15.

12 See P. Blanchard, The Child and Society, pp. 58-9; also W. I. Thomas and D. S. Thomas, The Child in America, pp. 26-7, for interesting cases.

The factors that determine the basis for favoritism of this sort are considerable in number, and oftentimes peculiar to the particular instance. Recurrent factors may, however, be noted. Frequently the parent discriminates in favor of the child revealing the closest physical approximation to the family type; frequently, again, the parent favors the child who enhances, or is likely to enhance, the family status.

Two kinds of families function in this connection: the one, having failed to achieve what seems to it a sufficiently desirable social status, is anxious to compensate for the lack vicariously through the promising child; the other, having achieved a degree of social distinction, is anxious to perpetuate it. In either case, the favored child is given advantages, in the way of comforts, praise, opportunities, and the like, denied the other children. Thus, an unfavored daughter testifies:

Right now my mother's making a dress for my sister. She never makes them for me. She makes them for her all the time. She gets special patterns for her and spends a good deal of time working on them. But when it comes to me, she says she can't be bothered, that she hasn't any time.

. . . My sister eats before I do in the evening, and I know she gets better food than I do. That's why she wants to eat by herself. We have quarrels about it all the time, and of course my sister takes my mother's side and so does my father. My sister is kind of stuck-up because she goes to college, with her fraternity dances, and all that blah-stuff. . .

They play her off to the relatives. I notice many times that when somebody comes that they haven't seen for a long time they introduce her first, and then talk nine-tenths of the time about her like she was a goddess. It's too funny for words sometimes. But it makes me mad, because after all, I have as much right to everything as my sister.

The parental discrimination in the above instance is against one child in favor of the other. It frequently happens, however, that the preference of the parent is not for one child but for one *sex*. Thus, in the case from which the following excerpts are culled, the father entertains opinions with respect to the status of woman that restrict the activity of his daughters. They, in turn, resent his old-world notions, and his concessions to his sons that contrast so markedly with the limitations to which they themselves are subject. As a result, they come into conflict with their father.

He used to exaggerate and exploit the fact that we were girls. If ever he didn't want to do something for us, or give us permission to do it ourselves, he would lay it to the fact that girls shouldn't do those things. For instance, when I went to high school, it was at the same time that my brother went too. But notice the difference in the way we were treated. My brother always had spending money, and I never did. . . . I used to quarrel with my father time after time because of this. All the other girls at school had pocket money to buy things with, and it wasn't that he couldn't afford to give me some. My father would say that a girl didn't need any spending money, and let it go at that. It was impossible to argue with him, he was so sure of himself, and after he said something he wouldn't listen to anybody else. . . . The contempt we had for him was very great. Of course that didn't help us any either. But if he had treated us squarely, we wouldn't have felt that way about him.

Discrimination on the basis of sex is thus seen to be a source of parent-child conflict.

In conclusion, there needs to be indicated a fact of primary importance with reference to the origins of parent-child conflict; namely, that a particular instance of conflict seldom receives sufficient interpretation when it is regarded as the consequence of a single cause only. Here, as elsewhere in the social realm, causation is always com-

plex;[13] and for this reason, a diagnosis that allocates a social condition to a single cause may generally be regarded as inadequate.[14]   It is only for the purpose of defining clearly the nature of some of the more important of these interrelated origins that they have been treated singly in the present discussion.

[13] W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 14.   Also Judge Baker Foundation, *Case Studies*, Series 1, Case 18.   "It is the complexity of a situation like this which stands in the way of any scientific student speaking of a single cause. . . . of such behavior as we see most of the members of this family exhibiting" (7a).

[14] E. R. Groves and W. F. Ogburn, *American Marriage and Family Relationships*, p. 88.

DEBUNKING THE MORES*

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FIRST THE novelists did it and now along come the philosophers emulating the novelists in that choice outdoor sport of 'debunking.' Philosophers got into the public eye through Mr. Durant's *Outline of Philosophy*. Mr. Ayres made something of a ripple with his earlier book *Science: The False Messiah*. Having 'debunked' science he got a taste of blood and now proceeds to lay out morality.

In essence *Holier Than Thou* is an attempted popularization of William Graham Sumner's *Folkways* and various books of Thorstein Veblen. While Mr. Ayres clears up Veblen's turgid English, he quite manifestly misunderstands Sumner. His basic assumption apparently is that the righteous are essentially hypocritical. His central and favorite theme stated at the opening of the book and reprinted on the jacket cover is "leading a pure and noble life is precisely the same kind of thing as dressing properly and taking off one's hat to a lady. Righteousness, good manners, fashion—they are all one."

As one might expect, the 'debunker' overstates his case. He bases his argument on a series of very doubtful assumptions very dogmatically stated. For example, he says that "all these (social) institutions and the concerns with which they deal are artificialities" (p. 51). Now social institutions are no more artificial than thought is artificial.

* *Holier Than Thou*. By C. E. Ayres, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1929, pp. 240.

To say, as he does, that "church and state are not everywhere two distinguishable institutions" (p. 51) does not mean that they are artificial. Again, it is not true, as any anthropologist knows, that "family and state are quite indistinguishable among most primitive peoples, such for example as the Hebrews of the time of Genesis" (p. 52). Nor is it true that "every aspect of family life is now regulated by the 'state' " (p. 52); nor is it true that civilization is a parasitic growth. Mr. Ayres knows that it is not and could only say so for the sake of wringing from pious old ladies an anguished cry, "Oh, Mr. Ayres, how could you!"

This same addiction to overstatement for colorful effect leads the author to such dubious dicta as "we have invented the additional refinement of sending a man to jail for life for stealing a few coppers on the theory that he is a hardened criminal" (p. 81) or that "a community must tolerate prostitution out of deference to original sin; and prostitution can be tolerated because sin is the road to salvation" (p. 206).

No sociologist could quarrel with Mr. Ayres' plain statement that "the folkways come first. The mores are the customs which people believe to be most important. They form morality" (p. 53). Equally aphoristic and equally true is his claim that "law is the order of the past; order is the law of the future" (p. 221). It is a source of grief and wonder, therefore, to come across such unwarranted and unscholarly inuendoes as, for example, the suggestion that "the chief motive of the millionaires who financed the final, successful drive of the Anti-Saloon League was a desire to close the corner saloon and that their chief interest in doing this was not so much to exclude alcohol from circulation as to eradicate the working men's club, to stamp out a center of radical and unionist agitation. So conceived,

prohibition was a striking device" (pp. 61-2). To the contrary, anybody who knows the inner workings of such a successful and militant union as the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America knows that the leaders of that organization have taken an uncompromising stand against alcohol, and contrast the order and sobriety of their operations with the disorder which marks some of their rivals in their saloon headquarters. An even worse example of this gratuitous slander occurs in a question attributed to military men in their dealings with conscientious objectors. If a man answered that he would not use force in the defense of his sister if attacked, Mr. Ayres perhaps rightly judges that militarists would consider that man to have branded himself as "a half-man, emasculate and puny, contemptible forever to all right-minded men and sound-hearted women" (p. 88). So far no objection, but why did he find it necessary to add this parenthesis: "Incidentally, no one seems to have thought of answering: My sister does not live in the vicinity of an army camp" (p. 88). Now, I am not a militarist. Indeed, I have been frankly critical of militarists, but this sort of inuendo is entirely too rank. It abjures all rules of the game.

The uneven quality of the book appears again in the author's shrewd analysis of the proposition that machines do not "inculcate good taste or good manners or good morals" (p. 142). We may disagree (and, indeed, a scholar like Professor Hu Shih in *Whither Mankind* does disagree), nevertheless, the author's position is cleanly and fairly taken. But, along with this, compare Chapter XI which is a criticism of progress, but a very limited, casual and crotchety criticism.

In a review of *Science: The False Messiah* I called attention to Mr. Ayres' essential qualities as a humorist. That same characteristic reappears in the present volume.

I have rarely encountered anything more genuinely humorous than the following passage:

One of the chief industries of the world is entertaining traveling Americans. In every capital of the world a show is maintained for our benefit; and where the tastes of Americans are so scrupulously studied it is only natural that American taste should take effect. Thus all the capitals of the world are partially Americanized. Furthermore, American money, American methods and American materials are exported not only in the field of automotive machinery, but in the field of sanitation, where American standards of "decency" lead the world; and not only in plumbing fixtures but in journalism, in phonography, in cinematography, in radiography and so in popular speech and minstrelsy. The shot heard 'round the world today is the American "wise-crack" (p. 130).

But not all of Mr. Ayres' humor is equally fresh or really funny; some of it is cheap and dusty with age as, for example, the hackneyed *cliché* that cannibals consider human cutlets superior to pork and veal, and "gloat over the prospect of a missionary stew as we do over a frozen pudding" (p. 70). Even *Life* or *Judge* long ago abandoned that line.

Mr. Ayres apparently adheres to the cycle theory of social change, of a continual passing from equilibrium to disequilibrium, and back again. Hence his wise-crack that "civilization is a device for dangling before men's eyes the carrot of anticipation, and righteousness is the harness by which every zeal, however forlorn, is made to work" (p. 194).

Probably the author will favor us later with a 'debunking' of religion. Certain premonitory motifs appear in the present volume: for example,

Morality is the lockstep of the whole regiment of mankind marching through the valley of the shadow of death with religion playing a cheery tune.

We are a timid and self-conscious species—if our upper classes had the spunk of bees they would exterminate us as soon as we had ceased to be of service. If our lower classes were as self-respecting as the wolves they would put their rulers down and eat them at the first sign of tyranny. But the sad part is that we are not bees or wolves; we are creatures who require. . . .

In short, criticism is salutary and satire may be tonic, but let it never be forgotten that the masters of the comic spirit loved their fellow men and therefore could laugh at them graciously and artistically. When Mr. Ayres is able to climb the mountain of detachment and observe our poor humanity with a gaze tempered by love, his mordant humor will perhaps accomplish more nearly the purpose which we may imagine him to have in mind.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND STATUS

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THE CONCEPT "social structure" as it is employed in sociological literature tends to be somewhat of an enigma. This is due in part to a lack of definiteness of meaning but to a greater extent to the difficulty of visualizing in *social* terms the asserted meanings, most of which are stated in the language of physical or physiological analogy. A definition in *social* terms is to be here attempted together with some observations of how social structure develops and of its variability. To bring into prominence its *social* nature social aggregations need to be conceived of as complex elaborations of human responses. The responses fulfil three functions: (1) they produce a personal experience, sometimes pleasant and sometimes otherwise, in the person to whom they are directed, that is, in the social object; (2) they stimulate the social object to respond; and (3) they define the position accorded to the social object. Now position in society, *as manifested by the series of responses which define it for each member,* is what the writer understands social structure to be.

Responses, which inevitably define the social position of the persons to whom they are directed, also frequently influence the spatial distribution of those persons. Conversely, too, residence in a particular geographic territory elicits responses which accord social position. The spatially distributive aspects of society are referred to as human ecology. This article will be limited to a discussion of *social* position, that is, to status.

Status may be viewed from either of two aspects each of which is divisible into a graded series. One aspect is the *height* of the status and the scale which measures it extends from a zero point of lowness to high; the other aspect is the *favorableness* of the status and the scale which measures it extends from a zero point of unfavorableness to favorable. For any purpose that may demand it these two aspects of status can be measured with a large degree of exactness and, if need be, plotted diagramatically. Some indices of the height of status in major social groups of the modern world are:

(a) the number of newspaper and periodical references to the social object;

(b) the amount, in column inches, of space occupied by the references; and, in many instances though not in all,

(c) the financial rewards accorded to the social object; and

(d) the extent to which the traits and activities of the social object are imitated.

Conceivably a famous artist and a notorious criminal might each attain the same height of status when measured by the above-named indices, particularly by "a" and "b." But the quality of the publicity, the kind of statements that would be made about each, would be vastly different. The references to one would be responses of approbation and approval while those to the other would be of the opposite kind. The quality of responses is more difficult to evaluate than the quantity. But the very thing that makes a social world possible is that a similar interpretation is placed upon responses by a number of different persons. To the extent that a consensus develops as to the meaning of responses, to that extent an accurate evaluation can be developed that will indicate the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness of the status of the social object in question.

In general each person is eager for *favorable* status among the small groups of intimate friends to which he belongs and for *high* status in the larger and less intimate relations of life. Usually these two aspects vary together so that the attainment of high status tends to promote favorableness and vice versa. But sometimes height and favorableness conflict so that a person must sacrifice one to attain the other.. A financier, for example, may participate in a business deal of questionable morality which might lessen the favorableness of his social position among his intimate friends but which, because it increases his wealth, heightens his status in the larger world. While for purposes of analysis it is quite possible to separate the height from the favorableness of status, it is by no means always easy to do so. Moreover, it is not always necessary for many assertions that are valid regarding one aspect are equally valid regarding the other. When no necessity exists to differentiate height from favorableness of status the adjectives superior and inferior will be employed.

In most social aggregations, though not in all, different degrees of status both as to height and favorableness are accorded to different members. These variations become more or less fixed in the constellations or clusters of responses which evolve in the process of social interaction and are deemed appropriate to particular kinds of social contact. A person responds differently to his grocer and his priest, to his son and his chauffeur, and so on through a long list of social relations. Traditions develop which tend to perpetuate the sanctioned responses. "Honor thy father and thy mother" is a case in point. Besides the traditions a host of symbols develop which stimulate each party in the interaction to respond in the appropriate way. Such are the cap and apron of the servant, the uniform of the soldier, and the clerical collar of the priest. In addition, verbal

symbols or concepts develop which perform the same function. The terms "father," "captain," "criminal," "foreigner," etc., stimulate both those who use them and those who hear them to respond in ways that are deemed appropriate. The responses indicate the status of the interacting parties and thereby manifest the social structure that has evolved in the social aggregation within the bounds of which the responses take place.

II

The mechanism by which status in society is accorded seems to the writer to be set in motion chiefly by three classes of facts. They are:

(a) by proficiency in an activity;
(b) by the possession of a property or capacity; and
(c) by contributions made to the welfare of the social aggregation which grants the status.

The first two of these are so mutually dependent that they will be discussed together.

(a) and (b). In the performance of each activity a norm or standard develops which guides all who make judgments of their own and others' attainments in that activity. But in modern society vast multitudes never participate in many specific activities. Those who do are contrasted not only with their competitors in that particular activity but with all who do not compete and to whom they are obviously superior. This process adds to the height of the proficiency accredited to any social object because of the large number of persons involved in the comparison. When an evaluation is arrived at, it tends to be conferred upon the social object as such and not confined to its activity. The evaluation, in turn, produces responses which define the status. A result of the tendency to confer on a social object

the evaluation placed upon a single activity is that sometimes a phenomenally high status is accorded to a person who has attained proficiency in an activity in which only a few participate. The national prominence about two years ago accorded to a certain University of Illinois football player is a case in point.

The struggle to attain proficiency in an activity, in many instances, involves the contestants in interaction of the conflict type. One of the results of conflict interaction is that it determines the relative status of the contestants, for it demonstrates in an objective way which is superior. Now one of the most elemental forms of conflict is physical combat without the aid of weapons. From this fact it follows that one of the most elemental ways of gaining status is by proficiency in physical combat without the aid of weapons. In such a form of struggle a powerful physique endows its possessor with advantages—strength increases the chances of victory. The vanquished contestant, at least so long as he remained in the presence of the victor, would respond to him in ways that would accord superior status for no other kinds of responses would be admissible. And because a person with a powerful physique could, in contests, so readily demonstrate his proficiency and demand responses which accorded him superior status, the powerful physique itself, even in the absence of a struggle, became a symbol to elicit such. That is, a property or capacity came to be substituted for the attainment of proficiency in an activity in eliciting the responses which define the position of the social object in the group.

With the accumulation of culture the forms in which conflict appears become more and more varied and other properties or capacities than a powerful physique become determinants of victory. Like the powerful physique these properties or capacities become symbols which, in social in-

teraction, call forth responses that accord a superior status to the possessor of the properties or capacities.

The two immediately preceding paragraphs lend support to the belief that social structure depends in the last analysis upon biologically inherited traits. That it does in some instances must be admitted. In other instances such traits determine the social structure only in part. In still other cases the social structure is due wholly to environmental factors. But even where structure can with the least fear of contradiction be accredited wholly to biologically inherited traits, it must be noted that the rôle played by such traits depends upon the evaluations or meanings placed upon them. And the variousness of the meanings is sufficient evidence that not the biological traits *per se* but the meanings which attach to them in particular environments determine the responses they elicit. The following quotation is apropos:

In ancestry and in physical appearances we are Japanese, while in birth, in education, in ideals, and in way of thinking we are Americans. Nevertheless, the older Japanese will not accept us into their groups because, as they see us, we are too independent, too pert, and too self-confident, and the Americans bar us from their group because we retain the yellow skin and flat nose of the Oriental.[1]

This citation indicates the rôle played by biologically inherited traits in determining the status of second generation Orientals in America. It shows also that traits other than the physical ones are in part responsible for the status accorded. The independence, the pertness, and the self-confidence are social inheritances. But instances may readily be conceived in which conditions wholly exterior to any social object are the ultimate facts in the determi-

[1] Institute of Pacific Relations. Report by W. C. Smith—*The Second Generation Oriental in America*, July, 1927, p. 5.

nation of its status. A wage-earner who cannot sell his labor and accepts charitable aid becomes a pauper and is defined accordingly by the responses directed toward him. His inability to find employment may be due wholly to an environmental situation.

In many instances proficiency in an activity is *prima facie* evidence of the possession of personal properties and capacities that elicit from the associates of a social object responses that accord him superior status. In time some phenomenon that is a result of the activity comes to be accepted as evidence of the proficiency itself. When that happens the struggle of life tends to become diverted from attaining proficiency in the activity to the acquisition of its supposed evidences, for the latter are as effective as the former in the attainment of superior status. An illustration of this exists in the pursuit of university degrees. In times past proficiency in scholastic activity resulted in the acquisition of a degree. The degree then became a symbol that elicited responses which accorded to its possessor a superior status among his fellows. This substitution induced many to make the university degree and not scholastic proficiency the objective of their university courses. The consequence was a gross vitiation of academic life. Similar results may be traced in other realms.

(c) Status by contributions to the welfare of the group.

In a large number of instances contributions to the welfare of the social aggregations vary vastly between the individual members. This might be demonstrated concretely by a study of any local club or church. In the case of the latter usually the pastor or priest devotes all of his time and energy to the welfare of the organization. If his contribution is accepted as a norm of 100 per cent, then the social contributions of all other members could be arranged in a graded series which would terminate at the

zero point. Were the membership of the church then plotted on a chart of circular shape on which each member would be assigned a position along a radius on the basis of his contribution to the church's welfare then the chart would consist of a series of concentric circles. At least that would be so if the 100 per cent point on each radius was the center of the circle and the zero point the circumference, and if several members were assigned positions on each radius. Such a chart would diagrammatically represent the social structure of the group for it would show the position of each member in relation to all the others. In real life, however, the position of various members is defined by the responses directed toward them. This fact a chart tends to obscure for it directs attention to a spatial distribution which does not exist, or exists only very incipiently in most social groups.

To the extent to which the members of an organization are unknown to each other except through their common interest in the organization, to that extent the status of each results from the judgment the other members entertain relative to his contributions to the welfare of their joint enterprise. In many instances, however, complicating factors are likely to enter, particularly the status of each member in the community in which the organization is located. This "community-status" is likely to carry over, as it were, into the local organization with the result that persons prominent in a community may enjoy a status in a local organization altogether out of proportion to their contributions to that organization.

When informally organized social aggregations assume formality of organization, the officers first chosen are the persons who have been most active in promoting the groups' welfare. Their activity has made them persons of superior status in their respective groups. When they as-

sume office the status they enjoy tends to become attached
to the office and the insignia of office tends to become sym-
bols that stimulate responses which accord superior status.
Future incumbents of the offices, even though as is some-
times the case they are highly incompetent and have
gained their appointments by gross violations of the ethical
codes of their respective groups, are accorded status on the
basis of the offices they occupy. An excess of incompetence
and continued violations of codes in securing offices may,
of course, demean the status of the offices and consequent-
ly of their incumbents. Illustrations of such a process
can readily be called to mind. The struggles in many so-
cieties to make offices—kingship, etc.—hereditary have,
no doubt, been motivated in part by the pleasure derived
from the status which the incumbents of the offices enjoyed.
Status is defined by the responses directed toward each so-
cial object which responses make manifest the social struc-
ture of the aggregation within which they take place.

The same social object may and usually does have a
different status in the different social groups to which he
belongs. The most obvious variations are correlated with
the sizes of the groups. In general, as was shown earlier,
in large aggregations where little personal intimacy pre-
vails, that is, in the so-called secondary groups, the evalu-
ation of proficiency in an activity tends to be conferred
upon the entire person whose status is established thereby.
But in those social groups where the entire life and per-
sonality of each member is known to the others, that is,
in the so-called primary groups, any incompetency in the
performance of an activity is remembered and status rep-
resents a judgment in which virtues are cancelled by vices,
proficiencies by deficiencies, and skill in one activity by
blundering in another. The sum total of these facts is, as
it were, thrown into a scale and a judgment which stimu-

lates responses toward the person adjudged is made on them all.

A second type of variation in status may be called a *temporal* variation. The status of any particular social object may and usually does vary from time to time in the same social group. Temporal variations result from changes in the sources of status discussed above; that is, from changes in the proficiency with which an activity is performed; from changes in the property or capacity possessed; or from changes in the quantity or quality of the contributions made to the welfare of the social aggregation which accords the status. The rapidity with which temporal changes in status take place can readily be noted by watching the sport pages of newspapers or the responses directed toward a police or army officer in uniform and in civilian clothes. These perhaps are extreme cases of temporal changes but they typify fluctuations in status that are incessantly in process relative to most of the members of most social groups. And if the status of most members of social groups is incessantly changing then the social structure of those groups must be changing also for social structure is manifested by the responses which define the status of the members of a group.

In this article an effort has been made (a) to discuss the concept "social structure" wholly in social terms; (b) to define its relation to social status; (c) to show that two aspects of status exist; (d) to explain the mechanism operative in according status; and (e) to offer evidence that status and therefore social structure is not a fixed and rigid phenomenon but one that is ever in process of change.

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENTS OF FILIPINOS
IN AMERICA

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There are three overlapping but distinct phases of adjustment which Filipino boys[1] experience in America. The first phase takes place within the first few months after one's arrival. It is characterized by an exuberant commingling of light heartedness and unprecedented dreams of success and achievement. The newcomer writes home to his parents and friends with a feverish enthusiasm telling them of his secret aspirations, his future triumphs, and his going back as a worthy son of his country.[2] He is all sincerity in his hopes and promises of success.

He is throbbing with "come and see, come and see" excitement. "So this is America!"—new things to see, new experiences, new adventures! A dream which had been cherished[3] in the heart for a long time come true at last. —And this is America? Hardly believable!

But it is. And so, from the little amount he earns in these first months he sends home a small sum,[4] no matter how little to confirm his feelings that he has reached

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[1] The average age is possibly somewhere between 21 and 26.

[2] The Filipino youth, before he becomes indifferent, has a deep personal sense of his part in the destiny of his country.

[3] My people, like any other people, attach a significance to travel, and paint in their minds fairy pictures of distant lands. Especially is this true of the labor immigrants, for most of them lived in very quiet places.

[4] It is mostly the newcomers who send home a part of their earnings. Those who have been here for some time write to their homes and try to picture the hardships here.

America and to show that he is making good. Money has no intrinsic meaning to him as yet; he counts his change in terms of the old centavos and pesos instead of in cents and dollars. This gives him a feeling that it must be easy to get rich in America. "If there is a will, there is a way" —and in a few years of hard work and thrift he would become a self-made man. He might even have a height limit building of his own by then.[5]

Being an unskilled laborer he willingly takes the jobs[6] avoided by most wage earners. He works faithfully many hours daily without becoming conscious of his fatigue. Somehow, his mind which is highly intoxicated with elastic thoughts benumbs his nerves and renders him unmindful of his exhaustion. Very often his back hurts him terribly but still he wears upon his countenance an unaffected smile. His heart is not yet tired nor fully tried; his enthusiasm and hopefulness are very contagious, for his trust in the goodness of human nature is yet without reservation.

Also, in this first phase, he is prone to preach to those who have been here for several years. Sometimes he is bitter toward them because of their stoic indifference. In heaven's name, why did they drift? Didn't they have enough manhood in them? Why did they not hold onto their ideals? They must be fools! They have forgotten that their country counts on them! . . . But he, please God, would never let himself drift away like the others. He would save all his money, undergo all difficulties, and would get a very good education. If he would not be able to go home with academic degrees he would at least secure

[5] He rarely takes into consideration, if ever, the thousand and one difficulties of social adjustment. He does not know the applied meaning of such words as *race, discrimination,* or *prejudice.*

[6] Most of us were initiated into American life by washing dishes 11 to 13 hours every day.

a diploma[7] of some kind. But should anything bar him from getting even that, he would go home and live a life of example for his people and then marry the daughter of a Don Juan.

The newcomer, if he is not an extreme Don Quixote type, recovers from his "Americanitis" before long. He then begins to make faces at himself in the mirror for having made himself a "big fool" in telling everyone of the achievements that will eventually be his. He begins to be really conscious of his surroundings. Before this time his body was already in America but his mind (so to say) was still back there in the Philippines basking in the sunshine of his glorious future career.

But his mind has now arrived and he comes to the second phase of his adjustment. This phase is characterized by inner conflicts. Not infrequently, the individual becomes lonesome and regrets his coming. He notices that the American in America are different, somehow, from the Americans in the Islands. The East and the West meet face to face in him and for the first time in his life he becomes conscious of his racial color. Custom against custom, tradition against tradition become warring giants in his life. It is not very seldom that the individual at this time is found very sensitive and temperamental. If a comparison may be used, he is not unlike a plant the leaves of which are wilted as a result of transplantation.

It is at this time that he is in sore need of true friends. Words of confidence and encouragement from home have no equals in their power to steady, to inspire, and to remind him that his performance is being watched with interest and eagerness. But it is often the case that it is not his fortune to have the much needed kind of friends during

7 To the mind of most of the boys of high school years a diploma carries a certain magical meaning.

these inner conflict periods; and the letters from home are very slow in coming.

So he must resort entirely to his own resources. The combined influences of his home, friends, personal religion, education, and aspirations become a hidden power for him to fall back upon. The absence of this power is a handicap, obviously, especially in the big cities where adjustment is needed continuously. The frowning awnings in China Town which conceal many a gambling den have a queer drawing power for the jobless, low-wage earners. The allurements of sex, the fascination of the dance hall girls are too pleasantly irresistible for the tired and lonesome strangers. And quite often many a promising young man has accepted these kinds of pottage in exchange for ambition and ideals just because he lacked the influence of friendship and understanding at the time he needed them most.

It is important at this time to consider the environs where most of the Filipinos are found. In Los Angeles, the people of all nations drift almost every hour of the day up and down Main Street and thereabouts. It is generally conceded that these are not wholesome places. There is a reason: the cheaper amusements in the city are found there. Pool halls, public dance halls, sideshows which are calculated to appeal to the feelings and imagination, and other "whoopee" attractions make Main Street a magnet to the homeless and friendless peoples in the city among whom are the Filipinos.

However, if the Filipino is found in these places he must not be condemned without qualification. There is that psychic community power in big cities to take into consideration. This power, whatever it is, tends to corral, as it were, all the foreigners in a certain section of the city. That is one reason why the Filipino is there. Also, he is

only human.   In spite of whatever good qualities he may possess, he grows tired, lonesome, and restless.   He is young;[8] he craves for freedom, sunshine, expression, and recreation.   If he works in a kitchen he is harassed by cooks and waitresses, and excited by the din of pots and dishes. In his spare hours he seeks, consequently, the places and companionships that can make him forget, even for a moment, that he has become a slave, not in name to be sure— but what is in a name?

Moreover, in America the Filipinos are the only people who do not have their own women with them.   The girls with whom most of the boys have contact are dance hall girls, who themselves are unadjusted.   With such ones as "inspirers" and with the atmosphere of Main Street as a background for romance the loss of status is precipitated. Some of the girls eventually prove to be the exceptions; but after all only exceptions.

The boys, it must be said, are generally heroic, for in their young and lonely years they face life as they find it. Many of them have sterling qualities and the good sense to take care of themselves even against great odds.   A number of them attend schools and universities and are making good, considering their handicaps.

Nevertheless, putting the student class aside and taking the greater number of Filipinos migrating to America at present, it can be said without fear of contradiction that it is a poor investment for the Philippines to let so many laborers come to America.   For the few dollars which they earn they usually pay highly in terms of moral well being. It must be borne in mind that moral[9] bankruptcy is the

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8 It would be a little too hasty to generalize from these wandering and adventurous youths the merits and the demerits of the Filipino people as such.

9 The word "moral" is used here to describe all those life attitudes which a group recognizes to be "good."

deathblow of a people. In the long run, it would be an investment of greater significance and surer advantage if our laborers were sent to Mindinao (using foreign capital if necessary) and have that place developed by our own people. In this way our government would be helping our people to establish for themselves self-reliance and economic independence. Under their present conditions in America they cannot help but develop an inferiority complex; as to the money side of it, everything being equal, it is "the bunk." What is more undesirable is that their faith in other people gradually slips out of their lives.

There remains the third and last phase of readjustment. The inner conflicts in the second phase represent a sort of a process which divides the Filipino immigrants into two general groups. These two groups embody the life-experience involved in the third phase. For the sake of convenience we shall call these (a) The Adjusted Group; and (b) The Bewildered Group.

(a) Definiteness of purpose of some kind characterizes the minds of those in the Adjusted Group. To this group belong all the students[10] who have one aim in their stay in America: to finish their studies and then go home. To them everything is just a means to this end. True, they sometimes have a "break" but as a class they are so hemmed in by their school and outside work that they cannot afford to waste much of their time in terms of the pleasures of their brothers.

To this group also belong all those who, having learned some useful trade can secure employment where the others are of necessity barred. Driving an automobile, running elevators, cooking, playing musical instruments, and the

10 Due to the great number of Filipino labor immigrants lately it is becoming practically impossible for Filipino self-supporting students to go through college on the Pacific coast.

barber's occupation are some of the trades. There are some jobs which require highly-skilled labor and which some of the boys hold. But as yet their number does not warrant appreciable mention. Most of these boys who have trades have given up their earlier dreams and have settled down into the sort of life they find here. As a class they do not intend to go back, but would "go back some day for a visit." Some have married[11] and are supporting families.

(b) Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic of those in the Bewildered Group is the lack of any tangible aim in life. "What do I care" and "What of it" may be a short way of stating their philosophy of life. The conflicts of adjustment seem to have reduced to ashes the fire of their enthusiasm in the earlier days. Very often this kind of adjustment is made by those who heard fabulous information about America before they came. Hence, their adjustment is somewhat the result of a disappointment. They are either bitter or resigned in their general attitude toward life.

Many of the individuals in this group wish to go home but they have not enough concentration left to earn the money with which to pay their way. Some hesitate to go back as a consequence of their failure to make good their early dreams. Others have lost much of the sense of responsibility even to themselves and have become dependent upon the goodness and hospitality of their countrymen. All of them are prisoners of circumstances in a country where they, possibly, expected a little too much. With what little money they can obtain they take part in some games of chance hoping that *this* time they will have bet-

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11 Most of those who have married have preferred Mexican girls. "The Mexican girl understands us better," they say. "You can go anywhere with her without being subjected to the inquisitive glances of people. You go with an American (white) girl and the people will look at you and then at her from head to foot."

ter luck. Or else they spend it for little pleasures—perhaps in which to drown their troubles.

As these unadjusted young people wander up and down between their favorite haunts hundreds of newcomers with glowing enthusiasms arrive. These go through the experiences of adjustment. Where a few of them succeed hundreds fail. The simple reason for this is that the Filipino labor immigrant does not have the background which is necessary for a successful adjustment in America where, practically, every wage-earner is a specialist along his own trade. There are other factors which bar him from a better contact with the real American life: his color, for example, and his inability to express himself intelligently in the English language. It is true that he feels nearer to the American than any other Oriental does but experience teaches him soon enough that in earning a livelihood and in trying to get ahead those feelings count little, if any. The reason for this is because the spirit of goodwill which we find in the everyday "earning a living" is not quite identical yet with the spirit of goodwill which public speeches and brotherhood precepts seem to convey.

SOCIAL DISTANCE IN FICTION

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THE CONCEPT of social distance finds excellent treatment in fiction. As an illustration, an analysis may be made of a widely read piece of fiction, namely, *Main Street*.[1] Most works of fiction contain a major plot that is built around a sequence of social situations. This sequence is usually characterized by a dominant social distance theme that is supported by several minor social distance chords. In *Main Street*, for instance, there are at least two major social distance movements and two minor ones.

I

One major social distance proposition in *Main Street* may be phrased thus: An assumed social nearness between two persons changes after marriage into social distance, because of a priori differences in personality and culture traits. The assumed nearness springs in part from an idealistic resolve of a college woman. In the paragraphs which follow, Carol speaks first, and Will Kennicott responds:

"That's what I'll do after college! I'll get my hands on one of these prairie towns and make it beautiful. . . . Why should they have all the garden suburbs on Long Island? Nobody has done anything with the ugly towns here in the Northwest except hold re-

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[1] By Sinclair Lewis. Published by Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1921. Special credit is due Beatrice Floyd, a member of the class in Social Distance, summer session, 1929, for calling attention to the suitableness of *Main Street* for social distance analysis and for assembling a number of valuable excerpts from the book.

vivals and build libraries to contain the Elsie books. I'll make 'em put in a village green, and darling cottages, and a quaint Main Street."[2]

"Come on. Come to Gopher Prairie. Show us. Make the town —well—make it artistic. It's mighty pretty, but I'll admit we aren't any too darn artistic. Probably the lumber yard isn't as scrumptious as all these Greek temples. But go to it. Make us change—You say I'm so darn materialistic. How can I help it, unless I have you to stir me up? . . . Well, you cure the town of whatever ails it, if anything does, and I'll be your surgical kit."[3]

Carol and husband Will settle down in Gopher Prairie but soon the a priori differences in personality and culture become voluble, and overcome the assumed social nearness of courtship days. Carol leads off: "I don't exactly know what we're going to do. Now don't ask questions! Come and sit down by the table. There, are you comfy? Lean back and forget you're a practical man, and listen to me. . . . Shall we try "The Idylls of the King"? They're so full of color." Will bluntly responds: "Go to it, shoot." Carol, however, was not fooled. "She read with an eye cocked on him, and when she saw how much he was suffering she ran to him, kissed his forehead, cried, 'You poor forced tube-rose that wants to be a decent turnip. . . . I shan't torture you any longer.' "[4]

Carol became increasingly aware of what she might have called the growing distance, but what in reality was the original distance between them becoming overt. The original distance was escaping from behind the mutual subterfuges that both Carol and Will had created in their courtship days. Carol overlooked Will's crudeness when "he sat about the living room in his honest socks," but she

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 5.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

would not listen to his frank declaration that "all this romance stuff is simply moonshine, elegant when you are courting, but no use busting yourself keeping it up all your life."[5]

Finally she saw her husband in his true personality and culture rôles, recognized the differences between him and herself, and tried to lose herself in books. She "drove through an astonishing number," but when she developed the habit of buying books, her husband blurted out: "If you had several of them right here in the library, free, why the dickens should you spend your good money?"[6]

The brewing storm breaks. Social distances become real to Will as well as to Carol. He identifies himself with his community, Gopher Prairie; he identifies Carol with the big city. He defines the social distance as follows: "Trouble with you is, you don't make any effort to appreciate us. You're so superior, and you think the city is such a hell of a finer place and you want us to do what you want. . . ."[7]

Carol defines the distance situation in terms of her own configuration of personality. She enters the rejoinder: "That's not true. It's not I who make the effort. It's they—they can't even see my interests, to say nothing of adopting them."[8]

Now that both Carol and Will have defined the social distances between them, Carol takes the next step and asks herself what she is going to do about the matter. She lay awake, while her husband "rumbled with sleep," lamenting her failure, acknowledging her mistakes in judg-

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5 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 263.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 168.
8 *Ibid.*

ment, and resolving to leave her husband—and Gopher Prairie.

"I must go on. My 'crank ideas' he calls them. I thought that adoring him, watching him operate, would be enough. It isn't, not after the first thrill. . . . I don't want to hurt him. But I must go on. It isn't enough to stand by while he fills an automobile radiator and chucks me bits of information. . . . Already—I'm not reading anything, I haven't touched the piano for a week. . . . Will Kennicott, asleep there, trusting me, thinking he holds me. And I'm leaving him. All of me left him when he laughed at me. It isn't enough for him that I admired him; I must change myself and grow like him. He takes advantage. No more. It's finished."[9]

II

A second and closely related social distance theme of importance in *Main Street* is this: The sudden impact of a youthful, dynamic, and progressive person against an old, staid, and self-satisfied community tends to result in an impassable personal-group distance.[10] The enthusiasm of youth antagonizes the stubbornness of age. To her dismay Carol found that Gopher Prairie did not want to exchange "their culture for her reforms." Because she spoke frankly, they were insulted. In turn, "their rebuffs made her haughty; her haughtiness irritated them to franker rebuffs; they were working up to a state of painfully righteous war. . . ."[11]

Carol informs the librarian of Gopher Prairie that the latter's chief task is to get the people to read, but the librarian condescendingly retorted: "You feel so? My feeling, Mrs. Kennicott, and I am merely quoting the libra-

9 *Ibid.*, p. 200.

10 The writer classifies social distance into (1) personal distance (between persons), (2) group distance (between groups), and (3) personal-group distance (between a person and a group).

11 *Ibid.*, p. 88.

rian of a very large college, is that the first duty of the conscientious librarian is to preserve the books."[12]

The enthusiasm of youth runs further amuck. Carol is told frankly what is wrong with her technique. The vitality of her own attitudes has blinded her to the nature of the attitudes guiding Gopher Prairie.

"They think you're showing off when you say 'American,' instead of 'Ammurrican.' They think you're too frivolous. . . . Mrs. Elden thought you were patronizing when you said she had "such a pretty little car." She thinks it's an enormous car! And some of the merchants . . . think you were eccentric in furnishing this room—they think the broad couch and that Japanese dingus are absurd. They felt you were showing off—pretending that your husband is richer than he is."[13]

Such frank remarks reveal to Carol the widened social gulf existing between herself and the people whom she would transform. When she catches a glimpse of how Main Street defines its own social situation, she ceases her transformation efforts. "I've been forgetting that Main Street doesn't think it's in the least lonely and pitiful. It thinks it's God's Own Country. It isn't waiting for me. It doesn't care."[14]

III

Cultural differences ingrained in childhood remain to tantalize if not to defeat personal nearness in maturity. Carol's servant was "a stalwart, corn-colored, laughing young woman, and she was bored by farm work. She desired the excitements of city-life. . . ."[15] And it was this servant girl, Bea, who became Carol's confidante. Carol discovered that Bea "was extraordinarily like girls she had

12 *Ibid.*, p. 92.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 96.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 443.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

loved in college, and as a companion altogether superior to the young matrons of the Jolly Seventeen. Daily they became more frankly two girls playing at housework."[16]

However, there was the old vertical distance between mistress and servant that bobbed up its formal and pesky head. Although Carol thought herself charitable toward the lower classes, she had been reared to assume that servants belong to a distinct and inferior species.[17] The ridiculousness of this formal monster was apparent to Carol although she lacked the courage to slay the disturbing devil, and to allow the real personal nearness to control. "Their supper was the feast of two girls. Carol was in the dining room, in a frock of black satin edged with gold, and Bea, in blue gingham and an apron, dined in the kitchen, but the door was open between, and Carol was inquiring . . . ."[18]

IV

Established class and race distinctions create a relatively permanent group distance. The long-standing class and race differences between the townspeople of Gopher Prairie and the nearby Swedish farmers lead to a fixed group distance. Although the townspeople sought the business of the farmers they drew the line on social admixture. Everything went well during a child welfare week, until the prize for the best baby was awarded "not to decent parents," but to the baby of the Bjornstams. But to the townfolk, Bjornstam was "nothing but a Swede farm boy, and these foreigners, they all got hides like a covey of rhinoceroses."[19]

16 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 107.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 111.
19 *Ibid.*, p. 349.

The Swedish farmers retaliated with a staccato distance reaction. ". . . . Hell! What do we care if none of the dirty snobs come and call? We've got each other."

The discussion has gone far enough to indicate some of the possibilities of a social distance analysis of a work of fiction. Inasmuch as writers of fiction are especially skillful in their word pictures, they afford students of sociology a vivid laboratory for the study of social distance. The whole range of personal, group, personal-group distances is depicted; the changes in social distances are effectively described; origins are made plain; mutations of distance are clarified. On the other hand, the social distance analysis gives to the far-ranging fields of works of fiction new and hitherto unsuspected meanings.

Book Notes

THE CHANGING URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD. A Sociological
Study. By BESSIE A. McCLENAHAN University of Southern
California, Los Angeles, 1929. Social Science Series, Number
1, pp. 142. Cloth, $2.00; paper, $1.25.

The University of Southern California is inaugurating several se-
ries of monographs representing some of the research studies by its
faculty members. The first number in the Social Science Series pio-
neers in a relatively neglected field. Studies have been made of rural
districts, small towns, and of the congested tenement, and disorgan-
ized sections of large cities, but the urban areas where the great
middle class dwell have been passed by. In such areas there has
seemed to be no outstanding problems, and hence no need for re-
search.

Dr. McClenahan's study examines a middle class urban area which
is more or less representative of the life of perhaps one-half of the
urban occupants of the United States, of people who are neither over-
privileged or underprivileged, and hence of persons whose attitudes
may constitute as accurate a thermometer as can be found anywhere
of underlying social tendencies and processes. Neither the over-
privileged nor the underprivileged can drag a nation down if the
middle class do not budge.

The author has not been content with mere survey or investiga-
tion methods, but has applied a genuine research technique in diag-
nosing the deep-seated middle class currents of life. She has ob-
served and charted as it were the changes whereby neighboring is
being supplanted by the less social nigh-dwelling. She has noted
and described the rise of the "communality" wherein the paucities
of nigh-dwelling are compensated for by the varieties of life found in
the communality; and wherein the person finds his tried and true
friends not next door, but scattered all over "town." The rôle par-
ticularly of the automobile and of newer means of rapid communi-
cation has cut down spatial distance and tended to increase social
nearness to such an extent that every person may live in wide-flung
communalities of his own, in place of the old closely circumscribed
neighborhood. The rise of new means of transportation and commu-

nication has not exactly annihilated spatial distance, but has at least dotted it all over with personal contacts and social nearness for everyone. The lightning-like speed of the radio and the telephone, together with the fleet-wheeled automobile and the swift-winged airplane, are increasing beyond comprehension "the psycho-social range" of human beings. The possibilities of the growth in a person's psycho-social range has meanings which can only be imagined.

Again, the author has played locus, or spatial placement, against status, or social placement, to excellent advantage. Some of the relations of ecology and sociology are thereby made plain. If the essense of ecology is locus and of sociology, status, then this study indicates how, henceforth, the two disciplines are one and inseparable. A social area can be understood only by studying both locus and status and, more important, the vital relationships between them.

A helpful scale of social nearness is set up in this report. The key concept is participation. Three degrees of socialization are analyzed and illustrated: namely, participation, limited participation, and non-participation. This yardstick with its threefold demarcations suggests additional subdivisions of measurement. The descriptions of the settler and of the opportunist types of residents also invite further classification and subclassification.

Some of the subtle ways in which neighborhood and communality are modifying and creating personality, and vice versa, are well set forth in this document. In short, change, and particularly social change under urban conditions, is halted before our eyes, and made plainer that it has been heretofore.   E. S. B.

HISTORY OF LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN IN THE STATES. By CLARA M. BEYER, and, CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF LABOR LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES. By FLORENCE P. SMITH. Bulletin of the Women's Bureau, No. 66, U. S. Department of Labor, 1929, pp. 288.

The history of labor legislation for women is traced in three states: Massachusetts, New York, and California, showing the legislative origins, the purpose each act was to serve, its supporters and opponents, and finally its legislative history. Special attention is paid to the influences of organized labor, State officials, bureaus of labor statistics, legislative committees or commissions, employers and various social, civic, philanthropic and church groups. The second half of the report contains a brief summary of the chronological development of legislation for women in the United States.   M. H. N.

VERHANDLUNGEN DES SECHSTEN DEUTSCHEN SOZIOL-
     OGENTAGES. Vom. 17, bis 19, September, 1928, in Zurich.
     Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tugingen, 1929,
     pp. ix+329.

"Sociology is at low tide in Europe," writes Dr. Charles A. Ellwood
in SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH (Jan-Feb., 1929). Referring to
Germany, however, he states: "It is to Germany that we must turn
to find the chief development in sociology since the war." This
appraisal by an American sociologist invites particular interest to the
official report of the sixth annual conference of *Die Deutschen Gesell-
schaft fur Soziologie.*

A spirit of youthful optimism and importance permeates the re-
corded speeches. "Whoever participated in the Zurich congress or
reads about it in this report," writes Dr. L. von Wiese (of Koln) in
the preface to this volume, "will scarcely be able to maintain that
sociology today is still a 'completely problematic' science. . ." Its
"youthful weakness" has been "largely overcome," and the young
science is in a position to attack "real problems."

The two main theoretical problems attacked by the congress were
Competition (*Die Konkurrenz*) and Migration (*Die Wanderung*).
Competition was discussed by Dr. von Wiese from the viewpoint of
sociological theory and by Dr. Karl Mannheim (of Heidelberg) in
its mental aspects. Papers were read on Migration by Dr. Honigs-
heim (of Koln) and Dr. Oppenheimer (of Frankfort), attacking
the problem from the two viewpoints of prehistoric ethnology and
of universal and economic history. In two minor sessions Dr. Som-
bart (of Berlin) read a paper on Methodology entitled "On Under-
taking" (*Das Verstehen*), and Dr. Thurnwald (of Berlin) read a
paper on Ethnological Sociology entitled "The Beginnings of Art
(*Anfange der Kunst*). Every address was followed by discussion
from the floor, the text of which is recorded in the report along with
the main addresses.   C. D. Wells

MAN'S SOCIAL DESTINY IN THE LIGHT OF SCIENCE. By
     CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn..
     1929, pp. 219.   •

This is a little book with a big message of optimism countering the
social pessimism of a number of prominent writers who have assumed
that the trend of civilization is decidedly wrong. Professor Ellwood
will not be blinded or sidetracked by prevailing skepticism nor by
views which are seemingly too materialistic and disillusioned. Pres-
ent-day pessimism is explained by the fact that spiritual culture has

lagged behind our material culture. The latest phase of culture to receive development is science, and, significant for its bearing on the main thesis, Professor Ellwood predicts that the great field for science in the future will be human relations.

Clearly pointed out are the interdependence and harmony which must exist fundamentally between institutions. Discussing the future of government, democracy is championed in no uncertain terms, but it is shown that the future of democracy rests upon the general intellectual, moral, and religious culture of the masses, that education is a prime necessity, and even more vital is its relation to religion, particularly the Christian movement. In our educational program, an overdose of materialism is strongly criticized. The general level of our culture has remained too low. Traditions have their value, but excessive worship of tradition hinders progress. Education should function for socialization and the inculcation of correct social values, and for the development of the nobler emotions religious education is most important.

Ellwood cautions us to not overlook the dependence of science and philosophy upon religion, and insists that the scientific spirit is a part of religion. This common bond comes through human experience, whether external or internal. Religion does not have to be subjective merely, in fact it is bound to include objective experience, and thus its meaning and usefulness for man will be greater. The task of religion is the redemption of our human world, and through the service of men both religion and ethics are socialized and placed in the service of the progress of mankind. Such is the ultimate theme of the book, and religion, founded on the teachings of Christianity, provides the means for humanizing all of the social institutions and for balancing human attitudes and values as the lag between spiritual and material cultures is adjusted.

This book of six chapters comprises the series of Cole lectures delivered at the Vanderbilt University School of Religion during 1929. It is fortunate that they are available in printed form and they deserve very wide reading indeed.   J. E. N.

FOLKWAYS IN CHINA. By LEWIS HODOUS. Arthur Probsthain, London, 1929, pp. 248.

"Folklore and Folkways" would be a more appropriate title for this book. The ordinary reader as well as the sociologist will find it interesting and instructive. Although it does not contain all the

folklore and folkways of the Chinese, there is a great deal in it that throws light on the social, economic, and spiritual life of the people. Besides being interesting from historical and contemporary points of view, the material in this book could well be used for sources in the study of origins and changes, such as origins and changes in religious ideas and practices and primary group life and control.

The author has approached the subject chiefly from the descriptive point of view. He theorizes but little. Perhaps a more extensive comparison between Chinese folklore and folkways, on the one hand, and those of other peoples, on the other, would have added to the interest of the book. The author, however, has made a few such comparisons and leaves the reader to extend them if he wishes.

<div align="right">Louis Petroff</div>

THE MIGHTY MEDICINE. By FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1929, pp. 147.

With characteristic vigor, Professor Giddings points out the force of the superstition and magic that were operative not only in the primitive days of the race, but are also functioning today. This mighty medicine is now in conflict with science. Traditions are contesting with intellectual liberty for predominance. Reactionaries are in a struggle with evolutionists. If the mighty medicine of superstition is to be overcome, a new education is needed. High school boys and girls need to become "more than mere instruments to earn money." They need to become "loyal citizens of the city," and to develop both intellectual honesty and pride in their work. College graduates should know (1) their own language well enough "to use it accurately and without awkwardness," (2) what the important works of reference are, and (3) what literature is, (4) what history is, and (5) what science is. The three methods of science are: (1) observation and experiment to obtain data, (2) a statistical distribution of data to account for all these data, and (3) verification of check-up. Science is pronounced a form of "double-entry bookkeeping," making up one account in terms of ideas, and another in terms of sense perceptions. There are four effective means of procedures of double-entry education: (1) the making or producing of something, (2) the gaining of social experience, (3) the creative pursuit or the critical study of literature or art, and (4) scientific investigation or the systematic study of natural science. All told, the author not only marshals a strong argument against the mighty medicine of occultism, but pleads effectively the cause of natural knowledge.

<div align="right">E. S. B.</div>

ROPE AND FAGGOT—A BIOGRAPHY OF JUDGE LYNCH.
By WALTER WHITE. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1929, pp.
xiii+272.

Mr. Walter White, who as the author of two dynamic novels, has already merited literary recognition, adds considerably to his reputation as a writer in this finely conceived analysis of that great blot on our escutcheon, lynching. Aside from the basic material of the facts presented, the book will have a lasting value because the author, as a member of the Negro race, presents what may be taken as an essential point of view in any attempt toward understanding the problem from every angle. He has stated the case without fear. The work comes as the result of ten intensive years of research and investigation.

Perhaps the chapter which will cause greatest comment is the first, that in which the mind of the lyncher is subjected to psychological inquiry. I am afraid that it will be said that the Negro mind should not undertake to present the psychology of the mind of the southern white lyncher. It would have been intensely revealing if Mr. White could have secured a good, accurate scientific psychological analysis of the mind of a participant in a lynching bee. Three ingredients of lynching psychology are posited as, (1) the immunity which the white feels will be his as an actor in the episode, (2) the demand for some excitement to enliven the otherwise drab existence of small town life, and, (3) the southern white's insistence upon a traditional unchanging type of negro, emphasized by the fact that "the average Southerner boasts that no one else 'knows' the Negro as he does."

The description of the lynching parties is very well done, though a bit more of graphic details might have made the whole more vivid. The late William Graham Sumner is appropriately quoted here: "The badness of the victims is not an element in the case at all. Torture and burning are forbidden not because the victim is not bad enough, but because we are too good."

A good analysis of the relation between religion, sex, economics, race pride and lynching is made, not always, however, without the emotional bias of the author. Granting that the phenomenon of lynching is always deplorable and ugly, and as such is a violent disturber of logical reasoning, Mr. White would have made the argument far more powerful by exercising a judicious use of restraint. *Rope and Faggot* deserves a wide reading and quiet digestion of facts. One can but hope that it will succeed in achieving a constructive victory over the forces of disorder which seek to perpetuate in office—Judge Lynch.   M. J. V.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By John Lewis Gillin, Clarence G. Dittmer, and Roy J. Colbert. The Century Company, New York, 1928, pp. x+534.

This book is another worthy addition to the excellent sociology textbooks edited by Professor E. A. Ross. It is designed primarily to introduce the freshman and the sophomore college and university student to the subject of sociology in general. The authors believe that "the best way to awaken in the student a curiosity about society is to take advantage of his preexisting interest in the insistent problems of his community and his time." Their aim is to lead him from the known to the unknown.

For the specific purpose for which it is intended, the book is probably the best yet produced on the subject of social problems. Its style is well suited to the lower division student, as it is lucid and stimulating, and interestingly punctuated with many objective illustrations drawn from everyday life. The student, however, who says, " I hate statistics," is likely to find cause for his hatred in several chapters of the book; but a glance through the books on social problems will show that the authors have been more judicious on this score than is usual.

The list of problems treated is that commonly found in books of this nature, with the exception that in this book the problems of peace and war are introduced. The authors begin their book with an abstract and theoretical section intended to aid in orienting the student to the subject. This approach may be logical but pedagogically it is of a doubtful nature.

The second part, which covers two-fifths of the book, is devoted to population problems. It is very well done, but many will feel that it has been given too much space in view of the briefness of the section on family and industrial problems. A number of writers, however, have recently called attention to the need of added emphasis on the subject of population and the authors of this book have followed that lead.

Part three considers briefly the problems of the home and of industry. Here the chapter on divorce is very inadequate on prevention and cure. One is surprised to find no mention of the writings of George Elliott Howard in this connection or of Japan's experiences in meeting the problem. The concluding section of the book deals with certain problems of "socialization." It contains excellent chap-

ters on "The Church and Social Problems," "Social Attitudes and Social Problems," and "Solutions of the Social Problem."

Supplementing each chapter are selected references and practical exercises. The exercises are not of the mere question-answer type but are thought provoking problems which will be found helpful in stimulating class discussion and in fixing in the students' minds the principles involved.   Roy M. Youngman

CULTURAL CHANGE. By F. Stuart Chapin, The Century
        Company, New York, 1929, pp. xix+448.

The author gives his readers first a glimpse of man's antiquity and the accumulation of culture, then reviews rapidly Grecian, Roman, and Medieval English culture, as backgrounds for an interpretation and measurement of cultural change. In the background chapters, the contention is advanced that poverty today is a by-product of our industrial system, an incident and not a necessity, due to the fact that manufacturing growth has been more rapid than the development in methods of distributing wealth and in sharing the costs of progress.

Several important hypotheses concerning the nature of cultural change are advanced by Dr. Chapin. The societal reaction has three phases, namely: (1) The group reacts to enforce its mores, but failing, (2) it tries out different expedients, and (3) integrates its trial and error efforts into a new pattern of activity. In discussing cultural lag in the family the author points out the more restricted range and the less concrete means of family control of today which is compensated for by a more scientific understanding of the family and of its permanent social values than ever before. For measuring cultural change certain concepts are suggested, such as the "cultural threshold." "Societal selection" is advanced as a useful concept; it refers to the coercion and constraint of human variates. The fundamental processes of cultural change are given as (1) invention, (2) accumulation, (3) selection, and (4) diffusion.

A total of 47 figures, many of them original, are presented. By these, fundamental conceptions are made visual. They add materially in "putting across" the author's thinking. In conclusion, the tentative and provisional character of the hypotheses formulated in the book is made plain. Taken altogether, this is undoubtedly Professor Chapin's best book.   E. S. B.

THE SALESLADY. By Frances R. Donovan. The University of
Chicago Press, 1929, pp. xi+267.

This book is a first-hand narrative of the experiences of Mrs. Don-
van as a "saleslady" in a number of department stores in New York.
She learned to know somewhat intimately many of the other "girls"
in the store, in their homes, in their recreation, sharing experiences
with them as well as making observations. Mrs. Donovan says that
the saleslady is happier working in a store than she would be if she
were doing anything else. Hers is a normal development and she
gets a great deal of satisfaction out of her work. She has opportu-
nities for advancement, for growth in business knowledge, and for
expression of personality. The chapter on "Customers" is especially
significant, for it will reveal to customers who read it something of
the problems and trials of the saleslady across the counter. In fact,
the whole book might be read to advantage by all customers, espe-
cially by "cranky" customers, in order that they might get an under-
standing of the attitudes, conflicts, joys, of the woman who sells, in
short, that they may see the buying process as a human interaction
affair. The style is popular. The materials are particularly valuable
for sociological analyses which Mrs. Donovan has not attempted.

E. M. P.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH CAROLINA. By C. Croft
Williams. The State Company, Columbia, S. C., 1929, pp.
194.

The special setting for this study is "the developing of a society
from a landed feudalism into a democracy whose form is yet nebu-
lous; the rapid rising of a textile industry among institutions fitted
for an agricultural order; the coming of modern science and culture
into a staid and farm-hardened social structure; the emerging of
an economically weak group into political control." On this ground-
work the author describes interracial relations, child welfare, crime,
poverty, rural life, family life, public health, and other social condi-
tions. Facts are given and methods of adjustment are prescribed.
A broad social viewpoint is maintained and dispassionate recommen-
dations are made. The book is of value not only in practical ways
in South Carolina but for comparative sociological analyses.

E. S.B.

HUMAN NATURE AND ITS REMAKING. By WILLIAM E. HOCKING. New print-
ing. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1929, pp. xxvi+496. This edition,
following the first after an interim of ten years, contains new materials such
as introductory statements to each of the seven parts, an appendix on "instinct,"
another on "the source of obligation," or a total of 62 additional pages. An
instinct according to the author's conclusion, is "an innate behavior pattern,
common to all members of a species or of a sex of a species, leading from a
situation marked by a specific signal or 'stimulus' through a fairly regular and
more or less complex series of operations to an end favorable to the survival
of the individual or of the species" (p. 442). The most useful criteria of an
instinct is adaptiveness. The main points of the original edition stand out with
increased strength after the ten year interval that has transpired since they
were first penned.   E. S. B.

COMMUNITY RECREATION. By J. C. ELSON. The Century Co., New York,
1929, pp. 278. The volume is intended as a handbook primarily for those who
are promoting recreational programs in their communities. While the major
portion of the volume is devoted to a description of games and the methods
of teaching them, there are chapters on leadership qualifications and funda-
mental principles of community recreation, the philosophy and the development
of recreation. It offers a variety of material for seasonal recreational activities,
the reading of plays and community music. The book is one of the volumes in
The Social Workers' Library, of which Professor John L. Gillin is the general
editor. The author has a practical knowledge of recreation but seems to lack
somewhat in the understanding of human nature.   M. H. N.

A SHORT HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA. By ROCKWELL D. HUNT and NELLIE
VAN DE GRIFT SANCHEZ. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York, 1929, pp. xiii+
671. Written in excellent style, this unusually fine history of a unique com-
monwealth furnishes a wealth of data for sociological consideration. Among
materials of this kind are those dealing with "incentives to settlement," "pas-
toral days," "approach of the stranger," "revolution," "ocial life of rancho,
pueblo, and mission," "pathfinders and homeseekers," "vigilante days," "the
Chinese question," "the workingmen's movement," "Japanese immigration,"
and "cultural development."

NEW WAYS WITH CHILDREN. By M. V. O'SHEA GREENBERG, New York,
1929, pp. ix+419. The author, a leading educator of the United States, has
written a book of helpful suggestions to parents and teachers. Among the
topics discussed are these: when parents disagree, the father complex, too much
mothering, taking the ire out of irritation, defense-reactions, tantrums, peevish
children, the habit of talking back. Eighty short chapters of about five pages
each comprise the book.

LEADERSHIP. A Selected Bibliography. By HELEN V. ZABEL. Library School,
University of Wisconsin, 1929, pp. 33. The arrangement includes seven sections:
principles of leadership, psychology of leadership, socialized leadership, educa-
tional leadership, democratic and political leadership, industrial leadership, and
leadership in religion. Brief annotations enhance the value of the document
greatly.

THE COAST GUARD. Its History, Activities, and Organizations. By D. H.
SMITY and F. W. POWELL. The Brovkings Institution, Washington, 1929, pp.
xi+265.

International Notes

THE SCHOOL System of Mexico is being enlarged rapidly. A year ago there were 4,117 government schools in the country; this year there are 6,805 such schools. Most of the new schools have been placed in the rural districts where the need for education is the greatest. Many of the new schools have open-air theaters in which much needed entertainment is provided for the people in isolated communities.

The Federal Department of Education is now publishing a newspaper which is sent out to all the schools. It is planned so as to meet the specific needs of the people. One edition is read to the children by the teachers; another edition is posted upon the walls and stores for the general public.

The schools are also fostering cooperative societies among the students and their parents. Such societies are doing much to stimulate economic enterprise, a group spirit, and a will to work together.

The Federal Department of Health has recently established a division of infant hygiene. Child-hygiene centers are to be placed in various parts of the country to teach infant care to mothers and to combat the high infant mortality rate.

Such efforts as these will aid materially in lifting the pale of ignorance and superstition from the masses. They will stimulate and furnish opportunities for indigenous leaderships which must be developed if the problems that confront these masses are to be solved.

IN THE NEAR EAST, European diplomacy has been taking the place of force. Immediately after the war, the blood and iron policy of France resulted in several serious clashes with the natives. The British were more consideraate of the peoples' customs and traditions and they fared somewhat better. In time, the entire region was pacified and there has been but little friction in recent years. Now the Turks are spreading anti-Jewish propaganda and trouble has broken out in Jerusalem. So long as there were relatively few Jews in Palestine there was but little opposition to them; but as the number mounted by tens of thousands friction increased, and the end is not yet.

PRESIDENT HOOVER, in his Armistice Day address on November 11, struck one new chord of special import when he said that food ships should be made free of any interference in times of war. He would have all vessels laden solely with food supplies put on the same basis as hospital ships. He points out that this measure if effective would be preventive of naval building programs, for protection of overseas or imported supplies has been one of the most impelling causes of increasing naval armaments and military alliances. To those who doubt the practicability of such a plan to undermine one of the strongest causes of armament, President Hoover points out that the Belgian Relief Commission delivered more than 2,000 shiploads of food through two rings of blockade and did it under neutral guarantees continuously through the whole World War.

THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL CONGRESS, organized under the direction of the International Institute of Sociology and Political and Social Reform, meets at Havana on February 17 to 24; 1930. The program, as announced, includes such topics as: General Sociology, Political Sociology, Economic Sociology, Juridic Sociology, Criminal Sociology, Sociology of Labor, Bio-Sociology, Gyneco-Sociology, Pedagogic Sociology, Rural Sociology, The Present Social Situation.

ASIATIC PEOPLES are in a state of marked unrest according to Dr. John R. Mott who recently returned from an extensive tour through Asia. Back of this unrest, Dr. Mott found crushing burdens, rising tides of nationalism, and a great deal of international misunderstanding. Favorable phases of the situation were seen in that today there are twenty voices and pens active in the promotion of better conditions to one, in 1922, when he visited these regions.

Social Research Notes

Research Documents

A SURVEY OF RECREATIONAL FACILITIES IN ROCHESTER, N. Y. The Council of Social Agencies of Rochester requested the Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research to make a comprehensive study of all phases of the recreational facilities of the city. The major facts sought were: the available recreational facilities, the agencies rendering such facilities, the distribution of the facilities throughout the city, the extent they are used, the various types and quality of service rendered, the amount invested in properties and equipment, and the annual expenditure for operation and maintenance. The report contains information pertaining to public (tax-supported) recreation, semi-public recreation (supported by donations), commercial recreation, provision for recreation by industrial establishments and provision for recreation by private groups. Rochester has a network of public recreation facilities covering over 1,807 acres with an annual expenditure exceeding $635,000. The semi-public agencies are widely distributed and expend a slightly larger sum for recreation. The four major types of commercial recreation places (billiard halls, bowling alleys, dance halls and theaters) have a capacity of approximately 60,000 persons at one time. The descriptive material, together with the statistical data and maps showing the extent and distribution of play facilities, lead one to believe that Rochester is well supplied with recreational facilities, being better equipped than most cities of its size. Yet the shortcomings, as enumerated in the report, are apparent, the chief of which being the lack of adequately trained leaders. Charles B. Raitt, The Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research, Inc., June, 1929, pp. 410.

COMMUNITY WELFARE IN SAN DIEGO. The Community Welfare Council of San Diego, the San Diego County Welfare Commission and the City of San Diego conducted a joint survey of the social conditions and the organization and cost of social work in San Diego. The report is divided into four parts. The first part deals with a series of general recommendations, the chief of which are a community-wide coordinating council and the employment of more competent and well-trained social workers.

The data of social conditions pertain to population increase, schools, health and disease, arrests and punishment and the employment situation. The third part deals with the organization and cost of social work. The final part containing the detailed findings and recommendations, covers such problems as the efforts to coordinate social work, family welfare, child care, health and disease, character building and group work and some social aspects of education. George B. Mangold, Dove and Robinson, San Diego, Calif., 1929, pp. 205.

Periodical Notes

CRIME AND THE PRESS. Criminologists have been emphasizing that the press has an evil effect on crime. A study was made of twelve New York daily papers in order to measure the amount of space devoted to crime news covering a period from November 8 to December 8, 1926. These papers contained a total of 4,712 items, covering 89,622 inches of crime news space. Crime is featured in glaring headlines, flashy news stories and pictures of criminals and crimes. The kind and extent of publicity which the newspapers give to crime has two major consequences: "first, the incitement to crime, and second, the interferences with the administration of the criminal law." A questionnaire was sent to the law enforcement agents of New York State asking them to express their opinion concerning the influence of the press on crime. The officials replying are for the most part of the opinion that the newspapers are guilty of inciting to crime, of aiding criminals in the commission of crime by furnishing them information as to how to commit crimes, of showing the profitableness of crime, of aiding them in escaping, of thwarting justice, of making of the offender a popular hero and of thwarting whatever deterrent effect there may be in present penal methods. A study was likewise made of the effects of movies on crime. In pictures the hero is rewarded and the villain punished, which makes a difference between the effect of movies as compared with the effect of the press. Furthermore, crime pictures are few. After being shown once, they lose their interest; moreover, they are censored. Joseph L. Holmes, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, May, 1929, pp. 6-59; and August, 1929, pp. 246-293.

A STUDY OF JUVENILE THEFT. The purpose of this investigation was to ascertain the factors which contribute to juvenile theft. Theft comprises fully one-half of the cases of juvenile delinquency brought

before the Juvenile Court of Wayne County, Detroit. Eighty-four delinquent boys were selected as an experimental group, and the cases were watched with an equal number of boys who served as a control group. The control group was selected by the schools. The cases of the two groups were compared as to age, grade, nationality and neighborhood status. It was found that such factors as economic status, father's occupation, size of family, church attendance, health or injury, time in school, school marks, work and earning power of boys, and attendance at movies showed no significant difference. But such factors as ages of parents at the birth of their children, unbroken homes, lack of crowding in homes, general intelligence, supervision of play, correction of physical defects, suitable playmates, and church affiliation showed considerable differences in favor of the control group. Good character traits in parents, physical condition of homes, and school attitudes showed marked differences in favor of the control group. Harry J. Baker, Fred J. Decker, and Arthur S. Hill, *Journal of Educational Research*, September, 1929, pp. 81-87.

Southern California

The opening meeting of Alpha Kappa Delta, sociology scholarship society, was held in October with an attendance of eighty. Among the speakers was Alfred Lewerenz who gave a series of careful observations concerning social conditions in Vienna. The government is endeavoring to reconstruct Vienna, according to Mr. Lewerenz, along three lines. The first item consists of the improvement of homes. To do this, the city government took over private property and is using rent incomes from the property to construct new homes for the laborers. Single apartment houses providing houses for as many as 10,000 people each have been built. Each house is a city in itself, containing stores and business offices. The apartments contain all modern conveniences and allow plenty of sunlight. They range from four to seven rooms. Rentals vary from $1 to $4 a month. In the second place, the government is maintaining a social welfare Bureau with 300 case workers in Vienna, through which clinics, children's homes, and other welfare institutions are maintained. The third procedure is in the educational field. There are no periods or time schedules in the schools. Each week a central theme is chosen and work in all the classes centers about that theme. "Vienna is a city of experimentation."

Social Fiction and Drama Notes

SINGERMANN. By MYRON BRINIG. Farrar and Rinehart, New York, 1929, pp. 446.

This novel will be especially interesting for those readers who have had intimate contacts with those Jewish immigrants who have come from Europe, bringing with them Teutonic and Slavic cultural traits. The novel deals with the lives of the Singermanns, a Jewish family, originally from Roumania, and caught in the trek of the western movement in the United States. First, settling in Minneapolis, and then in Silver Bow, Montana, the six Singermann children typify the first generation American in conflict with the Europeanized parent. Their love affairs carried on in the new environment give the author an admirable opportunity to present many stories ranging from grave to gay.

But what impressed me most was the portrayal of the home life of the Singermanns with its central problem of adjustment. One immediately suspects from the stark realism of the pictures, that the author is writing the story of his own family, for only one who actually had been a participant observer could have so thoroughly got behind the veil of the conflicts. For me, it revived many an actual scene, since I have had intimate acquaintanceship with Singermanns. Mr. Brinig has successfully caught the rhythm of a certain type of middle class life in America during the early 1900's—intruding is a vivid processional of American life at that time, figures caught from the stage, the song writer's shop, the prize ring, the literary world, and the lower depths. The strong grasp of the author shows itself in the portrayal of many finely sketched and unforgettable scenes, the Singermann home during a circumcision ceremony with the kind old Rabbi Lachter flourishing about, the clothing store with old Moses Singermann at the helm, the main street of a bustling little western town on a Saturday evening with its motley parade, and the amusement park on a summer evening with its pleasure seekers, innocent and otherwise. This is what I consider to be one of the proper functions of the novelist, that of the impressionistic photographer.

Then, too, the author has finely reported the verbalizations of his characters. Moses and Rachel, and Michael, who may be the author himself, stand out sharply. Maxine, the sinuous siren, who now posing as a Camille, now as a Zaza, and bringing havoc and disaster in her wake, is also well sketched. Here is a novel which deals with sex in the raw but transcends the obscene through sheer skill in writing. The novel is vivid, and has in it a quality of the epic—the story of the immigrant in the midst of the western scene.

<div align="right">M. J. V.</div>

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE DRAMA. By FRANK ALANSON LOMBARD. Houghton, Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1929, pp. 358.

This is a delightfully refreshing account which will very likely incite its readers to delve yet more deeply into the fascinating, romantic lure of the Japanese theater, past and present. Professor Lombard's extensive studies of English and Continental drama have enabled him to present with economy and precision the major trends of development which have characterized the drama of Japan. This development shows a marked parallelism with the growth of all truly great national dramas. Beginning with the art of mimicry and the choral song, the Japanese drama pursues the well-trodden path leading to increasing complexity of the dramatic form and arrives at those presentations of human character conditioned by peculiar national life activities.

The student of cultural diffusion will here find some valuable illustrative materials, for the author has presented the dance-songs intimately connected with the Shinto ceremonials, and then shown the influences of the Buddhist patronage on the dramatic forms. Again, he indicates that the Chinese influence with the written character makes for a marked change in the Japanese drama, bringing to it a trend which finally results in the portrayal of stories dealing with realistic social life. Most interesting, too, is the story of the rice-planting complex and its effect upon the form and content of the early dramatic presentations.

The book is superbly illustrated and abundantly provided with translations of the festive songs and early dialog forms as well as with several of the longer plays, among which, the Soga Revenge, is especially entertaining and illuminating.   M. J. V.

Social Photoplay Notes

THE TALKIE, *Hallelujah*, with its Negro cast, southern scenes, and religious theme, has been the source of considerable discussion by virtue of its portrayal of Negro life. Criticism, chiefly from Negro clergy and writers, has centered about two points, (1) the portrayal of Negro religion, and (2) the type of Negro depicted.

Scenes of a religious nature dominate. The Negro religious life is presented in all its phases: spirituals in the cotton fields, bible readings after supper, evening prayers, the religious fervor of a funeral, and the wild orgy of a revival service. Some feel that these religious scenes poke fun at the deep emotional nature of the Negro; others maintain that while much amusement is afforded by the wild chanting, the dancing, the muddy water baptismal service, this is as it should be for it is time that the Negro abandoned such primitive methods of worship. The impression is one of exaggeration, especially when one of the late popular songs is sung by the evangelist. But one cannot help being impressed by the intense feeling and sincerity manifested at these services.

Markedly in contrast is a somewhat lengthy cabaret scene with a "hot jazz band," gambling, sex, and all the rest that belongs in such a place. This scene, together with the fact that throughout the picture the Negro in general is typified as a happy-go-lucky contented individual, has brought forth the criticism that the film stresses the shiftless good-for-nothing element in Negro life.

The reviewer was impressed by the splendid personal qualities of the Negro especially emphasized in the opening and closing scenes of the picture, thus giving a favorable impression at the start and leaving a friendly feeling at the close.

Hallelujah shows the southern Negro in an environment not at all conducive to his best development. There are several splendid presentations of crowd psychology in the revival scenes; the process is completely traced as growing from the group of individuals to the highly suggestible unit, the mob. It is interesting to note that nowhere in the picture is there anything that might create white antagonism or challenge white superiority. Perhaps this is one reason white critics have widely acclaimed *Hallelujah*. On the other hand, the picture shows a large infiltration of white culture traits into Negro life, even to the point of ridiculousness.   G. D. Nickel

Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Directed by King Vidor.